

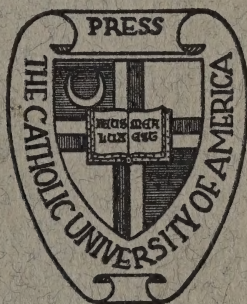
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
STUDIES IN SACRED THEOLOGY
(Second Series)
No. 9

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BY THE
REV. MARTIN F. STEPANICH, O.F.M., S.T.L.

A DISSERTATION

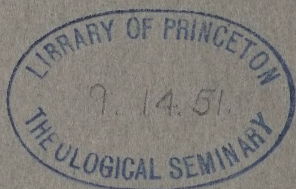
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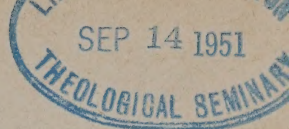
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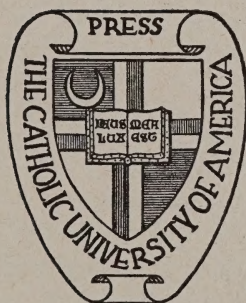


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FOREWORD

The Christology of Zeno of Verona is an inquiry into the christological doctrine found scattered throughout the *Tractatus*, or sermons, of St. Zeno, bishop of Verona in Northern Italy in the latter half of the fourth century. This Christology embraces the teaching of Zeno, not only concerning the incarnate Christ, but also concerning the eternally pre-existent Christ; finally, it includes Zeno's doctrine of the Redemption accomplished by the incarnate Christ. Hence, it is a Christology in the broad sense.

The writer takes this occasion to express his sincere gratitude and appreciation to the Reverend Professor Johannes Quasten, S.T.D., Dean of the School of Sacred Theology at the Catholic University of America, who kindly suggested the subject of this inquiry and willingly undertook the burdens of major professor. He accords full acknowledgment also to the Reverend Dr. Joseph C. Plumpe, Ph.D., who very generously devoted his time to the careful reading and correcting of the manuscript, and likewise to the Reverend Dr. Alfred C. Rush, C.S.S.R., S.T.D., who likewise read the work and contributed to its improvement by helpful suggestions.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AChr	F. J. Dölger, <i>Antike und Christentum</i> , Münster i. W.
AS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , Rome
BC	<i>Bulletin critique</i> , Paris
BKV ²	<i>Bibliothek der Kirchenväter</i> (edited by O. Bardenhewer-J. Zellinger-J. Martin), Kempten-Munich
BPhW	<i>Berliner philologische Wochenschrift</i> , Leipzig
BV	<i>Bogoslovni vestnik</i> , Ljubljana
CA	J. C. Otto, <i>Corpus apologetarum</i> , Jena
CHR	<i>Catholic Historical Review</i> , Washington, D. C.
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> , Berlin
CPT	<i>Cambridge Patristic Texts</i> , Cambridge, England
CSEL	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i> , Vienna
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , Paris
DAFC	<i>Dictionnaire apologétique de la foi catholique</i> , Paris
DCB	<i>Dictionary of Christian Biography</i> , Boston-London
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique</i> , Paris
DPhV	<i>Dissertationes philologiae Vindobonnenses</i> , Vienna
DThC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> , Paris
Er	<i>Eranos</i> , Göteborg
ERK	<i>The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge</i> , New York
ES	Denzinger-Bannwart-Umberg, <i>Enchiridion symbolorum</i> (ed. 21-23), Freiburg i. B.
Fliche-Martin	A. Fliche-V. Martin, <i>Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu' à nos jour</i> , Paris
FIP	<i>Florilegium patristicum</i> , Bonn
FSI	<i>Fonti per la storia d'Italia</i> , Rome
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i> , Leipzig
Giuliani	J. B. Giuliani, <i>S. Zenonis episcopi Veronensis sermones</i> , Verona
Gr	<i>Gregorianum</i> , Rome
HJ	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch</i> , Munich
Ho	<i>Hochland</i> , Kempten-Munich
HThrR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i> , Cambridge, Mass.
KH	<i>Kirchliches Handlexikon</i> , Munich
LCL	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i> , London-New York
LF	<i>Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen</i> , Münster i. W.
LQF	<i>Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen</i> , Münster i. W.

LThK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, Freiburg i. B.
MBTh	Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie, Münster i. W.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae historica, Hannover-Berlin
NTS	The Catholic University of America New Testament Studies, Washington, D. C.
PG	Migne, Patrologia graeco-latina, Paris
PL	Migne, Patrologia latina, Paris
RB	Revue bénédictine, Maredsous
RevSR	Revue des sciences religieuses, Strassburg-Paris
RFIC	Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica, Turin
RGG	Religion in der Geschichte und Gegenwart, Tübingen
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Louvain
RHLR	Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses, Paris
RPLH	Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes, Paris
RPh	Revue de philosophie, Paris
RPTHK	Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, Leipzig
RSR	Recherches de science religieuse, Paris
RTh	Revue de théologie ancienne et médiévale, Louvain
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich
SCA	The Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity, Washington, D. C.
SH	Subsidia hagiographica, Brussels
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin
ST	Studi e testi, Rome
SThS	Strassburger theologische Studien, Strassburg
ThQ	Theologische Quartalschrift, Tübingen
TS	Texts and Studies, Cambridge, England
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Leipzig
WWK	Wetzer und Weltes Kirchenlexikon, Freiburg i. B.
ZKTh	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, Innsbruck
ZöG	Zeitschrift für die österreichische Gymnasien, Vienna
ZntW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, Giessen

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INTRODUCTION

ZENO OF VERONA AND HIS "TRACTATUS"

1

ZENO OF VERONA

Saint Zeno was the bishop of Verona in Upper Italy in the latter half of the fourth century. He is one of the minor Latin Fathers of the Church and is comparatively unknown; accordingly, he has received but limited attention from scholars. He was a contemporary of such renowned Fathers as Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose, and Jerome in the West; Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and the three Cappadocians in the East.

The most ancient witness to the existence of Zeno of Verona is Ambrose, in whose province of Milan the suffragan see of Verona was located.¹ Ambrose wrote a letter of severe rebuke to Syagrius, bishop of Verona, because he had, without sufficient evidence and without the necessary judicial process, condemned a certain consecrated virgin, named Indicia, of having given birth to a child and then doing away with it. This virgin was consecrated, as Ambrose testifies, by "Zeno of holy memory."²

¹ In the time of Gregory the Great, that is, some two hundred years later, the diocese of Verona was apparently incorporated into the province of Aquileia. In 591 a number of bishops directed a joint plea to the Emperor Mauritius Tiberius that he forbid that their metropolitan, Archbishop Severus of Aquileia, be taken by force to Rome at the behest of Pope Gregory I, in order to be judged concerning the Three Chapters at a council. One of the bishops to subscribe to this plea was Junior, bishop of Verona. Cf. Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistolarum* 1, 16a (MGH *Epistolae* 1, 2, 17, 6-21, 23 Hartmann). See also F. H. Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose* 1 (Oxford, 1935), 64.

² *Epistolae* 5, 1 (PL 16, 930 A): Tu autem sine alicuius fratris consilio hoc iudicium tibi solus vindicandum putaris; in quo tamen ante iudicium praeiudicium feceris, ut puellam *Zenonis sanctae memoriae* iudicio probatam, eiusque sanctificatam benedictione post tot annos, sine auctore criminationis,

The angered citizens of Verona had appealed to Ambrose as to their metropolitan, and Ambrose responded with the authority of a metropolitan. This is an indication that the bishop of Verona was a suffragan of the archbishop of Milan.³

Ambrose does not say that the Zeno whom he mentions is a bishop; but this can be gathered from the fact that the consecration of virgins was a solemn ceremony reserved to bishops alone.⁴ That this Zeno was the bishop of Verona may be concluded from Ambrose's statement in the same letter that Indicia lived in Verona.⁵ Furthermore, her accuser was a relative of hers named Maximus,⁶ which suggests that her family was settled in Verona.

Zeno is not even mentioned in Jerome's *De viris illustribus* (written ca. 392). Likewise, no mention is made of him by Gennadius and Isidore of Seville of later times. However, it must be remembered that the works of these men comprised only writers; they were histories of the Christian literature of the times. Zeno's *Tractatus* were evidently not published in Jerome's times, and perhaps were not intended for publication at all. They did not become known outside Verona until after many centuries had passed. Zeno, then, was not known to Jerome as a writer, if he was known to him at all.⁷

In the middle of the fifth century a sermon was delivered on

sine accusatore, sine professore delationis, in periculum reatus deducendam arbitrare. (The Paris, 1880 edition of vol. 16 of PL will be used throughout this study.) Regarding the affair of Indicia, cf. F. Martroye, "L'Affaire Indicia: une sentence de saint Ambroise," *Mélanges Paul Fournier* (Paris, 1929), 503-510. See also F. H. Dudden, *op. cit.* 1, 154 f.

³ Granting that he died before 374, when Ambrose became bishop of Milan, Zeno was never personally subject to Ambrose. Cf. Bigelmair's theory, *infra*, p. 12.

⁴ Cf. C. J. Hefele-H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles* 2, 1 (Paris, 1908), 77; canon 3 of the Council of Carthage (390) states that a priest may not consecrate a virgin. See L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien* (Paris, 1925⁵), 423.

⁵ *Epistolae* 5, 12 (PL 16, 933 B): Nempē Veronae fuit (Indicia), visebatur frequenter a virginibus et mulieribus; in honore semper erat. Visebatur et a sacerdotibus propter pudicitiae reverentiam, et gravitatis speculum.

⁶ Cf. *op. cit.* 5, 19 (PL 16, 935 C).

⁷ Cf. A. Bigelmair, *Des heiligen Bischofs Zeno von Verona Traktate*, 2^{BKV} 2 R. 10 (1934), 21.

the anniversary of Zeno's death, in the church dedicated to him in Verona, by Petronius of Bologna. He had been invited there by the clergy of Verona, and he manifests surprise that they should have asked an outsider to preach about their saint. The sermon is entitled *In natale S. Zenonis*. Petronius styles Zeno as *egregius Christi pontifex* and refers to the many miracles occurring at his tomb.⁸

The next witness to the existence of Zeno of Verona is Gregory the Great who relates a miracle taking place in Verona at the church dedicated to Zeno. In his *Dialogi* Gregory tells of a flood inundating Verona some five years before, in the same year (ca. 588) that the Tiber overflowed in Rome and floods were general throughout Italy. The river Adige (Athesis), which passes through Verona, overflowed its banks to such an extent that the water rose as high as the church windows which were near the roof. The doors of the church were open, but the water did not enter; it formed a solid wall at the doors. The many faithful who were in the church at the time could not leave and were afraid of perishing from hunger and thirst. By a miracle they were able to drink from the wall of water, which retained its fluid nature for that purpose but did not run into the church. Gregory compares this miracle to that of the three youths in the furnace of fire, who, though surrounded by fire, were not consumed by it.⁹ Paul the Deacon designates October 17 as the date of the occurrence of the miracle.¹⁰

It was probably because of this miraculous event that Zeno became known as the patron against the dangers of water, such

⁸ This sermon is published in J. B. Giuliani's *Sancti Zenonis episcopi Veronensis sermones* (Verona, 1900²), cxlvii-cxlix, and also by G. Morin, "Deux petits discours d'un évêque Petronius, du Ve siècle," RB 14 (1897), 3-5, as well as in L. Sauer (Surius)-A. Bracco, *Historiae seu vitae sanctorum* 4 (Turin, 1875), 290 f. Cf. A. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona* (Münster i. W., 1904), 66, n. 2; also his comments in ²BKV 2 R. 10, 13, n. 1. See F. H. Dudden, *op. cit.* 1, 311.

⁹ *Dialogi* 3, 19 (FSI 57, 185, 6-186, 17 Moricca).

¹⁰ *Historia Langobardorum* 2, 23 (MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* 128 Waitz).

as floods and drowning. He is often depicted holding a fish, the symbol of water.¹¹

The so-called *Vita S. Zenonis*, written in about the eighth century by a certain Coronatus Notarius, a priest of Verona, is an ancient detailed testimony to Zeno's life.¹² Many later authors used it as a basis for their writings about Zeno. According to Coronatus, Zeno was sanctified already in his mother's womb and was specially blessed in infancy. He spent his time in what Coronatus calls a "monastery": "Erat enim sedens in monasterio, in secretiori parte oppidi Veronensis." He prayed and fasted that God might give him the gift of preaching.

Most of the *Vita* deals with the many miracles of Zeno. One day, according to Coronatus, Zeno left his monastery and went to the nearby Adige to fish. He was sitting upon a rock on the river's edge when he saw a man on a wagon drawn by a team of oxen on the other side of the river. Suddenly, the man and his wagon with oxen were plunged into the river. Zeno perceived this to be the work of the devil and therefore made the Sign of the Cross repeatedly until he had driven the devil away, thus saving the man from drowning. The devil protested loudly but to no avail.

The devil then went to the imperial palace and took possession of the infant daughter of Emperor Gallienus; at the time, she was his only daughter. He and his entire household were in dismay and helpless. The devil cried out that he would not leave the child except by the command of the bishop Zeno. Immediately the Emperor dispatched some soldiers in quest of Zeno. They found him sitting upon a rock by the river, fishing. He complied with the Emperor's request, went to the palace, and liberated the infant from the power of the devil.

¹¹ Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 54 f.; also his "Zeno von Verona," LThK 10 (1938), 1057. In the Basilica abbaziale di San Zeno Maggiore in Verona there is a statue of St. Zeno dressed in episcopal attire and seated upon a throne; in his left hand he holds the scepter and from this scepter a fish hangs suspended on a string. This is the famous statue of Zeno known as "San Zen che ride," because it represents the Saint as smiling.

¹² This *Vita* is found in PL 11, 199 A-204 C, and also in AS Aprilis 2, 70 D-71 E. Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 38 f.

The Emperor was so moved to gratitude by Zeno's act that he gave him his own imperial crown. Zeno promptly disposed of it and distributed the proceeds among the poor. Many who witnessed the miracle were converted to the faith of Christ, and Zeno obtained permission to have the temples of the idols destroyed and Christian churches built in their stead. There was fierce opposition on the part of the pagans, but in the end the faith conquered in Verona. After a fruitful and holy life, Zeno died in peace. Coronatus further narrates the same miracle as that reported by Gregory the Great. Veneration for Zeno greatly increased because of the report of these miracles.¹³

In the seventeenth century J. Mabillon published a poem called *Rhythmus de laudibus Veronae*, or *Versus de Verona*, in which a list of the bishops of Verona appears, Zeno being the eighth in the list.¹⁴ He took it from a codex found in the abbey of Lobbes in Belgium and brought there by Ratherius, Bishop of Verona (d. 974) in the tenth century. The unknown author of the *Rhythmus* goes by the appellation Anonymus Pipinianus because he seems to have dedicated the poem to Pippin (781-810), the son of Charlemagne and king of Italy. Granting that such is the case, the date of composition should be placed in Pippin's time, that is, at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century.¹⁵

Of the thirty-three stanzas in the poem, the following (14-18) contain the list of the bishops of Verona:

¹³ For the many miracles attributed to Zeno, cf. *Miracula S. Zenonis*, AS Aprilis 2, 76 B-78 A.

¹⁴ See his *Vetera analecta* 1 (Paris, 1675¹), 371-375. Cf. also E. Duemmler, *Laudes Veronensis civitatis* (MGH *Poetae latini aevi carolini* 1, 119-122); L. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* 2, 2 (Milan, 1726), 1095; L. Traube, *Karolingische Dichtungen* (Berlin, 1888), 11-129. See Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 35 f., and ²BKV 2 R. 10, 10 f.; PL 11, 154 B, 225 C.

¹⁵ Cf. F. J. E. Raby, *A History of the Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* 1 (Oxford, 1934), 209-213; A. Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande* 2 (Leipzig, 1880), 86, n. 1; M. Manitius, *Geschichte lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 2 (Munich, 1923), 51; F. Lanzoni, *Le origini delle diocesi antiche d'Italia*, ST 35 (1923), 534.

Primum Veronae praedicavit Euprepus episcopus,
secundus Dimidrianus, tertius Simplicius,
quartus Proculus confessor, pastor et egregius.

Quintus fuit Saturninus et sextus Lucilius;
septimus fuit Gricinus doctor et episcopus,
octavus pastor et confessor Zeno martyr inclitus.

Qui Veronam praedicando reduxit ad baptismum,
a malo spiritu sanavit Galieni filiam,
boves cum homine mergentes reduxit a pelago.

Et quidem multos liberavit ab hoste pestifero,
mortuum resuscitavit ereptum ex fluvio,
idola multa destruxit per crebra ieiunia.

Non queo multa narrare huius sancti opera,
quae a Syria veniendo usque in Italiam,
per ipsum omnipotens deus ostendit mirabilia.¹⁶

Another ancient testimony regarding Zeno is the so-called *Casula diptycha*, an old Mass chasuble originating from San Apollinare in the ancient Classis port of Ravenna. On it were the pictures and names of thirty-five bishops of Verona, among them Zeno. These are believed to have appeared originally on an altar antependium, perhaps on that which adorned the altar above the tomb of Sts. Firmus and Rusticus at San Fermo Maggiore in Verona. The last of the names is that of Sigisbert; the name of Anno (ca. 751–780), his successor, does not appear, thus giving rise to the belief that the antependium was designed in his time, though it cannot be definitely determined when the *Casula* was made. Three fragments from the *Casula*, showing only some of the bishops, are preserved in the museum of the Ravenna library.¹⁷

¹⁶ Taken from MGH *Poetae latini aevi carolini* 1, 120 f.

¹⁷ Cf. M. Sarti, *De veteri casula diptycha dissertatio* (Faenza, 1753), 1–84; Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe. Études archéologiques sur ses monuments* 6 (Paris, 1888), 177–179 (see Plate DV); G. Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia dalla loro origine sino ai nostri giorni* 10 (Venice, 1854), 738 f.; Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 37 f., and ²BKV 2 R. 10, 9 f. The list found on the *Casula* was adopted by P. Gams, *Series episcoporum* (Leipzig, 1931), 804 f.

The list on the *Casula*, which included the angels Michael and Gabriel and Sts. Firmus and Rusticus,¹⁸ was partially as follows:

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 1. Euprepis | 7. Gricinus |
| 2. Dimidrianus | 8. Zeno |
| 3. Simplicius | 9. Agapitus |
| 4. Proculus | 10. Lucius |
| 5. Saturninus | 11. Siabrinus (=Syagrius) ¹⁹ |
| 6. Lucillus | |

The question now arises as to the century in which Zeno lived. According to Coronatus' *Vita*,²⁰ Zeno lived during the reign of Gallienus (260-268) for he freed his infant daughter from the power of the devil. As stated, many later authors were influenced by the *Vita* and wrote accordingly. Even Anonymus Pipinianus mentions the cure of Gallienus' daughter.²¹ However, the *Vita* has aroused suspicion as to its trustworthiness and has been rejected by scholars,²² because there is too much evidence in favor of the fourth century as Zeno's period of life.²³

Ambrose is an ancient witness to the fact that Zeno lived in the fourth century. Moreover, if the lists of the bishops of Verona in both the *Rhythmus* and the *Casula diptycha* are cor-

¹⁸ Sts. Rusticus and Firmus were martyred in Verona during the reign of Maximian (286-305) and have always been venerated there. Cf. T. Ruinart, *Acta martyrum* (Ratisbon, 1859), 635-642.

¹⁹ Cf. M. Sarti, *op. cit.*, 58; see tab. 1, opposite p. 1, and tab. 2 and 3, opposite p. 8.

²⁰ Cf. PL 11, 201 B.

²¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 6: A malo spiritu sanavit Galieni filiam. Among comparatively modern authors, I. A. Dorner places Zeno in the third century and considers him as a link between Tertullian and Dionysius of Rome; cf. his *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi von den ältesten Zeiten*, 1 (Stuttgart, 1845), 754 f. See Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 41 f.

²² E.g., D. Tillemont states that the *Vita* is full of errors; cf. his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique* 4 (Paris, 1696), 587. The Ballerini brothers are of the same opinion; cf. PL 11, 76 B-77 D. See O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* 3 (Freiburg i. B., 1923²), 477, n. 3; Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 38 f.

²³ Cf. L. J. V. Jazdzewski, *Zeno Veronensis episcopus* (Regensburg, 1862), 22-56, who proves that Zeno could have lived only in the fourth century. See also PL 11, 40 C-65 B).

rect, Zeno could not have lived in the third century but in the fourth. One of his predecessors was Lucilius or Lucillus, the sixth bishop of Verona. That this prelate was present at the Council of Sardica in 344 is known from Hilary, who calls him *Lucius ab Italia de Verona*,²⁴ and also from Athanasius, who knows him as *Loukillos*.²⁵ The second successor to Zeno was a Bishop Lucius, it is true, but Hilary died before Zeno did and could not have known of any of Zeno's successors. Zeno was still living as late as 371, while Hilary had passed away in the year 368. Hence, the bishop mentioned by Hilary and Athanasius must be one and the same. Lucillus—assuming that this is the correct spelling—was still living in 356, for, in his *Apology to the Emperor Constantius*, Athanasius speaks of him as Lucillus of Verona.²⁶ The successor of Lucillus was Gricinus, and after him came Zeno.

The time of Zeno's episcopate can be determined further from internal evidence furnished in Zeno's own sermons. First of all, Zeno gives many indications of the presence of paganism, which was not yet completely stifled in the latter half of the fourth century. He strongly condemns marriages with pagans and, in so doing, he reveals that pagan temples still exist which the pagan husband frequents, while the Christian wife attends her church; the sacrifice which the former offers is public and accessible to all, whereas that of the latter is secret and closed even to catechumens.²⁷ The gods are still invoked, and their responses to prayer are revealed to the wife by her pagan consort.²⁸

The pagans yet have their (Vestal) virgins;²⁹ the worship of

²⁴ *Collectanea antiariana Parisina* B, 2, 4 (CSEL 65, 134, 7 Feder).

²⁵ *Apologia contra Arianos* 50 (PG 25, 337 A).

²⁶ *Apologia ad Constantium* 3 (PG 25, 600 B).

²⁷ *Tractatus* 1, 5, 8 (Giuliani 51): Proponamus itaque, ut saepe contingit, in unum sibimet convenire diversae religionis diem, quo tibi Ecclesia, illi adeunda sint templa. . . . Quid, quod illius sacrificium publicum est, tuum secretum? illius a quovis libere tractari potest, tuum etiam a christianis ipsis minime consecratis sine sacrilegio videri non potest.

²⁸ *Ibid.*: Ut rem compendio transigam, utique a templo regrediens (maritus) necessaria enarrabit tibi sciscitanti, sibi de utriusque salute, vel unanimitate deorum quae fuere responsa.

²⁹ *Tractatus* 1, 5, 6 (Giuliani 50): Habent (Gentes) suas virgines.

the goddess Cybele still has its votaries, and in her honor the pagan priests dedicated to her service mutilate their manhood.³⁰ The dangers of persecution and martyrdom exist from day to day.³¹

On the other hand, Christianity has gained the upper hand, so much so that the whole world appears to be Christian, as Zeno says.³² The Church, prefigured by Ninive, is the great commonwealth in which the converted Gentiles now dwell, and the time is foreseen by Zeno when a whole world of believers in Christ will form one commonwealth.³³ The converts from paganism no longer worship dumb idols, nor burn fires and incense upon their altars, nor do they give way to their former superstitions.³⁴ At the same time, the temples of the pagans are falling to ruin.³⁵ New Christian churches are being built and are already too small to hold the congregations within them,³⁶ a fact revealed by Zeno

³⁰ *Tractatus* 1, 13, 1 (Giuliani 91): Quam (circumcisionem) si Iudaeus aestimat gloriam; ut de ceteris taceam, maior est eius, qui in honorem deae suae . . . non parvam cutem eiusdem membri, sed ipsum membrum radicitus abscissum mysteriis turpioribus immolavit.

³¹ *Tractatus* 1, 6, 8 (Giuliani 62): Tu (patientia) quotidiana martyrum et mater es et corona; 1, 13, 11 (Giuliani 99): Pudoris sanguinem retinemus, quem ambiciose plerumque effundimus, cum in persecutione pro nomine Domini diabolum moriendo vastamus; 2, 27, 3 (Giuliani 227): At ubi vindemiae venerit tempus, id est, persecutionis dies, passim uvae diripiuntur, id est inconsiderate sanctis omnibus violenta infertur manus.

³² *Tractatus* 1, 5, 4 (Giuliani 47): Christiano orbe ipso pene iam toto. . . .

³³ *Tractatus* 2, 17, 3 (Giuliani 201): Ninive imaginem portat Ecclesiae, in qua Gentium iam inde noster populus morabatur, quae non incassum a Deo magna civitas dicta est; erat enim futurum, ut omnium nationum in Christo credentibus populis, totus orbis Deo una civitas redderetur.

³⁴ *Ibid.*: Non solito more ad stupida simulacra concurrunt, non aris foetentibus funestos excitant ignes, non thura cremant, non merum profundunt, nec pecudum inspectata morte rapti iecoris spirantes consulunt fibras, nec per varios avium volatus coniecturis inanibus statum plumeae salutis inquirunt.

³⁵ *Tractatus* 1, 14, 1 (Giuliani 102): Quid, quod aut nullum, aut perrarum est per omnem Ecclesiam Dei orationis loci membrum, quod possit quavis ruina in se mergentibus idololatriae aedibus nunc usque aliquatenus comparari?

³⁶ *Ibid.*: Vellem, fratres dilectissimi, triumphali quodam modo uti sermone, novique operis arcem sacram laudibus geminare; 1, 14, 2 (Giuliani 104):

in a sermon delivered at the dedication of a new church.³⁷ All of this points to an era in which Christianity had passed the times of persecution.

The existence of Arianism and other fourth-century heresies is very much in evidence in Zeno's *Tractatus*.³⁸ Further evidence pointing to the fourth century is found in a dependence, though moderate, of Zeno's sermons upon the *Tractatus super Psalmos* of Hilary.³⁹

A final convincing internal testimony concerning the period in which Zeno lived is found in his sermon *De Continentia*. He comments on St. Paul's warning: "Tempus breve est; reliquum est, ut et qui habent uxores, tamquam non habentes sint;"⁴⁰ in reference to this passage he states that it is "almost four hundred years or more" since the Apostle's words were written:

*Quum ante annos ferme quadringentos, vel eo amplius, apostolicum hoc operetur edictum, quo et vivaciores fuere homines, et rarissimi Christiani.*⁴¹

It is obvious that Zeno is speaking in round numbers without intending to give the exact number of years since the time of St. Paul. This *modus loquendi* is encountered also in other Fathers.⁴²

Exsultate igitur, fratres, aedificationemque vestram aede ista de novella cognoscite, cuius quoque capacitatem felici numero fecistis angustam.

³⁷ The sermon is entitled *De spirituali aedificatione domus Dei*, *Tractatus* 1, 14. (Giuliari 101).

³⁸ These heresies are treated in chapter 2, 1.

³⁹ A collection of parallel texts, found in Zeno's *Tractatus* and in those of Hilary, has been made by Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 47, 89-91. Cf. also PL 11, 58 D f.

⁴⁰ I Cor. 7, 29.

⁴¹ *Tractatus* 1, 5, 4 (Giuliari 47). The words *ferme* and *vel eo amplius* seem to contradict each other. Bigelmair suggests that *vel eo amplius* is perhaps an interpolation of a later hand for liturgical purposes; cf. ²BKV 2 R. 10, 25 f.; also K. Ziwsa, "A Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*," ZöG 56 (1905), 620.

⁴² E.g., Hilary, *Oratio synodi Sardicensis ad Constantium imperatorem* 1, 5 (CSEL 65, 183, 21-184, 4 Feder): *Post quadringentos ferme annos, postquam dei unigenitus filius humano generi pereunti subvenire dignatus est . . . novella nunc et teterrima lues non corrupti aeris, sed execran-*

The precise time and duration of Zeno's episcopate has been placed between the years 362 and 380. According to ancient calendars, Zeno was commemorated three times during the year: His feast day, or date of his death, was on April 12; the transfer of his holy remains occurred on May 21; and December 8 was the date of his episcopal consecration. In ancient times, the consecration of a bishop always took place on a Sunday.⁴³ December 8 fell on a Sunday in the years 356, 362, and 373. The year 356 would be too early a date for Zeno's consecration, because Lucillus was still bishop of Verona according to the testimony of Athanasius cited above; after him Gricinus was bishop of Verona and the immediate predecessor of Zeno. The year 373 is almost certainly too late, because the consecration of the virgin Indicia by Zeno took place some years before Ambrose became archbishop of Milan in 374;⁴⁴ Ambrose states that this virgin dwelt for a time with his own sister Marcellina in Rome while he was absent from home.⁴⁵ By this process of elimination the only date remaining is December 8, 362.⁴⁶

The date of Zeno's death is more difficult to determine. The brothers Ballerini have concluded that 380 is the approximate date. In Zeno's sermons they see a reference to the battle of Adrianople in which Valens was defeated by the Goths in 378. There was a great slaughter of the Romans, and many were taken captive. Zeno praises his people for their charity in assisting many to be liberated from captivity and arduous labor:

dorum blasphemiorum Arriana effusa est. See also his *Collectanea anti-ariana Parisina* A 4, 1, 2 (CSEL 65, 49, 26 Feder).

⁴³ Cf. L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien* (Paris, 1925⁵), 366; T. Michels, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bischofsweihealtages im christlichen Altertum und im Mittelalter*, LF 10 (1927), 46 f.

⁴⁴ Cf. M. R. P. McGuire, "A New Study on the Political Role of St. Ambrose," CHR 22 (1936), 313 f.; É. Amann, "Chronique d'histoire de la théologie anciennes," RevSR 15 (1935), 84, n. 1.

⁴⁵ *Epistolae* 5, 21 (PL 16, 936 B). At illa (soror mea) sancte inspectionem quidem recusavit, sed testimonium non declinavit, dicens nihil se in Indicia comprehendisse, nisi quod esset virginalis pudoris et sanctitatis: habitasse eam Romae in domo nostra, nobis absentibus, nulli eam se vitiorum familiaritati dedisse.

⁴⁶ Cf. PL 11, 77 D-82 B; Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 51 f.

Sed haec non ad vos, fratres, quorum largitas provinciis omnibus nota est, quorum pia semina totius quodam modo orbis per membra iactantur. *A vobis multi redempti, multi edictis feralibus liberati, multi conditionibus duris eruti gratias agunt.*⁴⁷

If this is an allusion to the battle of Adrianople, Zeno was naturally still living in 378. However, he was certainly dead by 386, for Ambrose wrote his letter to Syagrius not later than 386 and in his letter he refers to Zeno as *Zeno sanctae memoriae*.⁴⁸

Bigelmair prefers to set the date of Zeno's death in 371 or 372. His theory seems to be the more probable one, for his reasons are more convincing. In Zeno's collection of sermons, he argues, there are eight discourses *In Isaiam*; ⁴⁹ eight entitled *Invitatio ad fontem*; ⁵⁰ seven *Ad neophytos post baptismum*,⁵¹ and to these latter must be added *De triplici genere sacrificiorum* ⁵² as an eighth dealing with the same subject; nine are entitled *De Pascha*; ⁵³ eight on the Jewish Passover; ⁵⁴ seven on the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea; ⁵⁵ and, finally, eight *De Daniel* ⁵⁶ on the three youths in the fiery furnace.

The above sermons are all connected with the Easter liturgy. It seems that Zeno delivered a sermon on the same subject every year, for example, the sermon *De Pascha*; since he preached this sermon only nine times, he obviously celebrated the Easter liturgy nine times at the most. If this is true, and granting that Decem-

⁴⁷ *Tractatus* 1, 10, 5 (Giuliani 80).

⁴⁸ *Epistolae* 5, 1 (PL 16, 930 A). On the date of Ambrose's letter to Syagrius, cf. U. Moricca, *Storia della letteratura latina cristiana* 2, 2 (Turin, 1928), 564. J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain* (Paris, 1933), 581, sets the date between 395-396. F. H. Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose* 1, 154, n: 12, states that no reliable date can be set. Cf. M. Ihm, *Studia Ambrosiana*, 40.

⁴⁹ *Tractatus* 2, 22-29 (Giuliani 217-230).

⁵⁰ *Tractatus* 2, 30-37 (Giuliani 232-240).

⁵¹ *Tractatus* 2, 38-44 (Giuliani 241-259).

⁵² *Tractatus* 1, 15 (Giuliani 109-115).

⁵³ *Tractatus* 2, 45-53 (Giuliani 260-273).

⁵⁴ *Tractatus* 2, 55, 60-62, 65-68 (Giuliani 276-277, 283-285, 289-292).

⁵⁵ *Tractatus* 2, 54, 56-59, 63-64 (Giuliani 274-275, 278-282, 286-288).

⁵⁶ *Tractatus* 2, 69-76 (Giuliani 293-300). A ninth sermon *De Daniel* does not deal with the same subject.

ber 8, 362, is the date of his episcopal consecration, he died in 371 or 372.⁵⁷

While the question of Zeno's death is under consideration, it may be asked whether he died a martyr or not. According to the Coronatus-legend, he passed away peacefully, and such was the traditional belief in Verona for many centuries.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Zeno has often been termed a martyr. The first to name him such was Gregory the Great who, in the story of the miracle occurring at Zeno's church, says: "Ad beati Zenonis martyris atque pontificis ecclesiam venit (aqua)." ⁵⁹ Most probably, all later testimonies to the martyrdom of Zeno stem from him. Thus, for example, the martyrologies know him as a martyr.⁶⁰

Gregory himself probably did not employ the term *martyr* in the strict sense in reference to Zeno; in fact, there are many cases in which he did not,⁶¹ but this does not definitely prove anything regarding Zeno. An example of death without martyrdom is John the Evangelist who, because he suffered the tortures of a martyr, is honored as such. Zeno could conceivably have suffered under Valens or from the Arians, thus meriting the martyr's crown.

Yet it is the belief of scholars that Zeno did not die as an actual martyr. The ancient tradition of Verona never ascribed

⁵⁷ Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 52 f.

⁵⁸ Cf. L. J. V. Jazdzewski, *Zeno Veronensis episcopus*, 57-68; Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 65.

⁵⁹ *Dialogi* 3, 19 (FSI 57, 185, 16-186, 1 Moricca).

⁶⁰ E.g., Bede, *Martyrologium* (PL 94, 877 A): Apud Veronam civitatem passio sancti Zenonis *martyris*, de quo beatus Gregorius in libro *Dialogorum* refert; also Raban Maur, *Martyrologium* (PL 110, 1139 A); Notker Balbulus, *Martyrologium* (PL 131, 1064 B).

⁶¹ E.g., *Homilia in evangelium* 1, 3, 4 (PL 76, 1089 A): Quamvis occasio persecutionis desit, habet tamen et pax nostra martyrium suum; *op. cit.*, 2, 5, 7 (PL 76, 1263 BC): Mori quippe a persequente martyrium in aperto opere est; ferre vero contumelias, odientem diligere, martyrium est in occulta cogitatione. Cf. also his *Dialogi* 3, 36 (FSI 57, 197, 19-23 Moricca). On the so-called "martyrs" of early times, cf. F. Lanzoni, *Le origini delle diocesi antiche d'Italia*, ST 35 (1923), 46 f.; H. Delehayè, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, SH 20 (1933), 96-99; E. L. Hummel, *The Concept of Martyrdom According to St. Cyprian of Carthage*, SCA 9 (1946), 20-27.

martyrdom to her patron saint.⁶² The first bishop of Verona to name Zeno a martyr was Bishop Lippomano in 1548.⁶³ In his sermon *In natale S. Zenonis* in the fifth century Petronius of Bologna does not designate Zeno as a martyr but only as *sa-cratis-simum confessorem*.⁶⁴

The remains of St. Zeno lie in the basilica San Zeno Maggiore in Verona near the banks of the Adige river, perhaps at the spot where Zeno built his own church. Petronius spoke of a new and larger church when he preached on Zeno's anniversary: *aedis istius ampliata sublimitas*.⁶⁵ The present basilica dates from the twelfth century.⁶⁶ In 1838 an investigation was undertaken to ascertain the true location of Zeno's remains, for documents testified that they rested in a marble sarcophagus in the crypt of the church; ⁶⁷ this sarcophagus was found.⁶⁸

The subject of Zeno's birthplace or native land has often been discussed. The *Rhythmus* of Anonymus Pipinianus seems to state that he came from Syria:

Non quo multa narrare huius sancti opera,
quae a Syria veniendo usque in Italiam,
per ipsum omnipotens deus ostendit mirabilia.⁶⁹

Zeno's Greek name does not prove anything, for there have been Zenos in many countries, and there are many martyrs by that name listed in the martyrologies.⁷⁰

Some scholars consider it almost a certainty that Zeno came from Africa.⁷¹ They base their reasons upon the internal evi-

⁶² Cf. *supra*, p. 13, n. 58.

⁶³ Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 65.

⁶⁴ Cf. G. Morin, "Deux petits discours d'un évêque Petronius, du Ve siècle," *RB* 14 (1897), 4, 23.

⁶⁵ Cf. G. Morin, *op cit.*, 4, 22-23.

⁶⁶ Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 1 f., 66-68.

⁶⁷ Cf. J. Mabillon, *Iter Italicum* 1, 1 (Paris, 1675), 22.

⁶⁸ Cf. Giuliani, xxii; also *AS Aprilis* 2, 74 B.

⁶⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 6.

⁷⁰ Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 55 f., 60. For the name Zeno in ancient inscriptions, cf. *CIL* 8, 2 (1881), 982, n. 10982; 8, supplement 2 and 3 (1884), 1990, nos. 20991 and 20992; and *loc. cit.* 2023, n. 21423.

⁷¹ P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne* 3 (Paris,

dence furnished by the *Tractatus*. First of all, Zeno betrays the influence of Africans such as the pagan Apuleius of Madaura and the Christian Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius.⁷² The chief reason for considering Zeno an African is the presence, among his *Tractatus*, of a sermon delivered by him in honor of the martyr St. Arcadius of Caesarea in African Mauretania. Love for his mother-country may well have prompted Zeno to preach about this martyr.⁷³

Zeno's labors among the people of Verona bore much fruit. As Anonymus Pipinianus states in the *Rhythmus*, Zeno converted the people of Verona by his preaching: *Veronam praedicando reduxit ad baptismum*, and he brought about the destruction of idols by his fasting: *Idola multa destruxit per crebra ieiunia*.⁷⁴ The *Vita* of Coronatus gives similar information.⁷⁵

Zeno's sermons reveal the presence of the learned and the educated in his congregation.⁷⁶ People of every race, sex, age, and condition were among his newly-baptized,⁷⁷ and he was so proud of them that he called them *dulcissimi flores mei*⁷⁸ and *Ecclesiae flores clarissimi ac dulces nostri*.⁷⁹ The Easter liturgy was elaborately developed by Zeno, if his many and varying sermons connected with the Easter services are any indication. He may

1905), 365-371; A. Morcelli, *Africa christiana* 2 (Brescia, 1817), 300; Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 56-58; C. Weyman, "Studien zu Apuleius und seinen Nachahmern," SBAW (1893, 2), 350.

⁷² The sources for Zeno's ideas are considered *infra*, pp. 24 f.

⁷³ Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 56 f. L. Duchesne has suggested that the sermon does not belong in Zeno's collection of sermons; cf. his "S. Zenonis episcopi Veronensis sermones," BC 4 (1883), 325 f. There is another *Passio Arcadii*, published by T. Ruinart, *Acta martyrum* (Ratisbon, 1859), 550-553; cf. also AS Januar. 2, 4-6.

⁷⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 6.

⁷⁵ *De vita S. Zenonis* 2 and 7 (PL 11, 200 B and 203 AB).

⁷⁶ Initial words of *Tractatus* 1, 3 (Giuliari 25): *Fortassis de circumstantibus doctis quispiam in cachinnos erumpat, quod homo imperitissimus et elinguis, aliquid audeam de iustitia disputare.*

⁷⁷ To the neophytes after their baptism, *Tractatus* 2, 42 (Giuliari 251): *O bonae matris caritas pura! diverso genere, sexu, aetate, conditione suscipiens, . . . pia servat, ut mater.*

⁷⁸ *Tractatus* 1, 15, 6 (Giuliari 115).

⁷⁹ *Tractatus* 1, 45 (Giuliari 261).

have easily influenced the development of the liturgical rites of the West.⁸⁰

It seems quite certain that Zeno had a church built for the people of Verona, as the sermon delivered on the occasion of the dedication of a church leads one to believe.⁸¹ Furthermore, there is some probability that he established monastic life in Verona. Coronatus speaks of Zeno as *sedens in monasterio*,⁸² as though to indicate that there existed a monastery for monks whose head he himself may have been.

Zeno is considered to be one of the first founders for convents of nuns in the West.⁸³ In his sermon *De Continentia*, in which he extols the glory of virginity and chastity, he mentions the existence of virgins and widows among his people: *nostrae sacrae virgines viduaeque*,⁸⁴ and intimates that he encountered opposition in promoting the ideal of virginity and celibacy.⁸⁵ Ambrose states clearly that there was a monastery or convent of nuns in Verona. In his letter to Syagrius, in which he defends the integrity of the virgin Indicia, consecrated by Zeno himself, he maintains that gossiping women had come to the "monastery" and had falsely reported that Indicia had given birth to a child; from this "monastery" the rumor spread among the people.⁸⁶

Zeno was an eminent promoter of charity among his people. As can be gathered from his three sermons *De Avaritia*, he

⁸⁰ Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 62 f., 157-159.

⁸¹ The sermon is entitled *De spiritali aedificatione domus Dei*. Cf. *Tractatus* 1, 14, 1 (Giuliani 101): *Vellem, fratres dilectissimi, triumphali quodam modo uti sermone, novique operis arcem sacram laudibus geminare*. See *supra*, p. 9, n. 36.

⁸² Cf. PL 11,200 B.

⁸³ Cf. J. Fessler-B. Jungmann, *Institutiones patrologiae* 1 (Innsbruck, 1890), 712; A. Butler-H. Thurston, *Lives of the Saints* 4 (New York, 1933), 134.

⁸⁴ *Tractatus* 1, 5, 6 (Giuliani 50).

⁸⁵ *Tractatus* 1, 5, 1 (Giuliani 45): *Dubium non est, quia aut hostis publicus, aut certe iudicatur insanus, quisquis nuptias dissuaserit*.

⁸⁶ *Epistolae*, 5, 19 (PL 16,897 B): *Cucurrisse mulieres viles ad monasterium, iactasse partum virginis, et necem pignoris, de monasterio rumorem per populos sparsum, eumque affluxisse in aures novi affinis Maximi, ab ipso interpellatum episcopum . . . ut apud nos patuit*. Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 64.

preached vigorously against the evils of avarice. However, at the end of these sermons he boasts that his people do not need exhortations to liberality. Their generosity was known throughout the provinces. Their homes were open to all comers, no one was in straits because of the lack of clothing, nor was there need any longer for the poor to beg alms.⁸⁷ All of this points to the persuasiveness of Zeno's preaching. His good example stood out even more, for he himself remained poor.⁸⁸

Still, many abuses existed among the Christians of Zeno's congregation, and these he strove to suppress. For example, there was excessive eating and drinking, as well as the vice of impurity at the so-called love-feasts or *agapae*, which were celebrated at the tombs of the martyrs on their festivals.⁸⁹ Superstitions and various vicious habits—a carry-over from pagan days—were also prevalent among the faithful.⁹⁰

Besides his love of liberality, poverty, virginity, and other virtues, Zeno reflects a humility in his sermons when he styles himself as *homo imperitissimus et elinguis*,⁹¹ while his elegant style attests quite the opposite.

⁸⁷ *Tractatus* 1, 10, 5 (Giuliari 81): Vestrae domus peregrinis omnibus patent; sub vobis vivus mortuusque diu numquam visus est nudus. Iam pauperes nostri alimenta rogare non norunt.

⁸⁸ *Tractatus*, 2, 44, 2 (Giuliari 258); Etsi pauper sum. . . .

⁸⁹ Cf. T. Klauser, *Die Cathedra im Totenkult der heidnischen und christlichen Antike*, LF 9 (1927), 133, n. 134, 175. Regarding the abuses committed at the *agapae*, see J. Quasten, "Vetus superstitio et nova religio. The Problem of the Refrigerium in the Ancient Church of North Africa," HThR 33 (1940), 253-266. Cf. also F. X. Funk, "L'agape," RHE 4 (1903), 5-23; also his "Tertullien et l'agape," RHE 5 (1904), 5-15; and his "La question de l'agape. Un dernier mot," RHE 7 (1906), 5-15.

⁹⁰ *Tractatus* 1, 15, 6 (Giuliari 113): Displicent Deo . . . et illi, qui per sepulchra discurrunt; qui foeterosis prandia cadaveribus sacrificant mortuorum; qui amore luxuriandi atque bibendi, in infamibus locis lagenis et calicibus subito sibi martyres pepererunt; qui dies observant; qui Aegyptiacos de candidis faciunt; qui auguria captant salutemque suam pecudum violenter scissis in ventribus quaerunt. . . . Cf. Ambrose, *De helia et ieiunio* 17, 62-65 (CSEL 32, 2, 448, 12-450, 11 Schenkl). See also Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 146.

⁹¹ *Tractatus* 1, 3, 1 (Giuliari 25). Cf. also 2, 27, 1 (Giuliari 224): Hic

The fame of Zeno's sanctity and miracles spread beyond the bounds of Verona and Italy into other countries, into Germany in particular. In Upper Bavaria there are churches dedicated to St. Zeno at Isen and Reichenhall and in Suabia at Ulm and Radolfzell.⁹²

But of Verona itself Zeno is the special patron, as Ratherius, bishop of Verona in the tenth century, says: *peculiaris, ut scitur, noster patronus*.⁹³ Elsewhere, he calls Zeno *specialis noster doctor atque provisor*.⁹⁴

Veneration for St. Zeno is also reflected in the fact that more than thirty chapels and churches in and around Verona are dedicated to him. Ancient doors bear his name, and there are coins bearing his image. His statue appears in the niches of many houses. Already in the eighth century there was an abbey of St. Zeno in Verona and many of the monks therein were named Zeno. Even today it is customary among the people of Verona to christen their first-born with the name Zeno.⁹⁵

2

THE "TRACTATUS" OF ZENO OF VERONA

The *Tractatus*¹ or sermons of Zeno of Verona involve a long history.² The most ancient witness to the existence of Zeno's

mihi rustico vestro beatissimi ignoscite agricultores, si quid vestrae solertiae, vineae in ratione reddenda, ignavia nostra detraxerit; 1 and 2, 27, 3 (Giuliani 226): *Quantum spiritaliter mediocritas nostra conicere potest, computatus ad mensuram palmes Competens intelligitur, legitimo examinis numero examinatus*.

⁹² Cf. Bigelmair, "Zeno von Verona," LThK 10 (1938), 1057; his *Zeno von Verona*, 2 f.; and ²BKV 2 R. 10, 50.

⁹³ *Liber apologeticus* 2 (PL 136, 631 B).

⁹⁴ *Synodica ad presbyteros* 5 (PL 136, 558 B).

⁹⁵ Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 2.

¹ On the meaning of *tractatus* in patristic times, cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* 3, 397, n. 5; J. Fessler-B. Jungmann, *Institutiones patrologiae* 1 (Innsbruck, 1890), 713, n. 1; U. Moricca, *Storia della letteratura latina cristiana* 2, 1 (Turin, 1928), 207, n. 178; 563; Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 92.

² Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 4-22.

sermons in writing is Ratherius of Verona.³ He makes allusion to Zeno a number of times⁴ and quotes from his sermon *De Iuda* at least three times; for example: "Utar ut hic auctoritate Zenonis beati, in sermone videlicet quem de Iuda patriarcha, et Thamar nuru ipsius, more suo luculentissime fecit, dicentis: 'Omnium corrupte viventium diabolus pater est.'" ⁵

But the knowledge of the *Tractatus* did not go beyond Verona, and even Ratherius' writings were relegated to oblivion. Due to a scarcity of manuscripts, citizens of Verona were almost the only ones who knew of the existence of the *Tractatus*. Thus, Joannes Mansionarius, a priest of Verona in the fourteenth century, states that he saw and read them; he also gives a list of the titles of the *Tractatus*.⁶ In his poem *Miracula S. Zenonis*, Jacobus Presbyter makes reference to Zeno's preaching ability and thus hints at the existence of the *Tractatus*.⁷ The Dominican Peter Calo of the same fourteenth century asserts that he saw the *Tractatus* in two volumes at the monastery of St. Zeno in Verona.⁸

The first printed edition of the *Tractatus* appeared in 1508. A priest of Verona named Guarinus discovered the manuscript con-

³ On Ratherius' life and writings, cf. A. Vogel, *Ratherius von Verona und das zehnte Jahrhundert* (Jena, 1915²); H. Hurter, *Nomenclator literarius theologiae catholicae* 1 (Innsbruck, 1926⁴), 903-906.

⁴ Cf. his *Praeloquia* 5, 22 (PL 136, 306 C): Iste sanctus Martinus, Zeno est iste sanctus, modo de coelis demissus; *Liber apologeticus* 2 (PL 136, 631 B): Cum gloriosissimus hinc abiisse disposuisset Augustus (Otto I), credidit fidei meae quiddam argenti, ex quo perficere deberem basilicam sancti Zenonis, peculiaris, ut scitur, nostri patroni; *op. cit.*, 3 (633 A).

⁵ *De contemptu canonum* 1, 20 (PL 136, 509 B). Cf. also, *op. cit.*, 1, 21 (PL 136, 511 A): Qui filius corrupte vivendo exstat diaboli, ut Zeno sanctus affirmat, quid cogitet quantum se metiatur, alii committi perpendere; *Synodica ad presbyteros* 5 (PL 136, 558 BC): Et cum specialis noster doctor atque provisor utique Zeno dicat, in sermone utique, quem de Iuda, filio Iacob, et Thamar nuru ipsius elegantissime composuit, quod omnium corrupte viventium diabolus pater est; quid valet quod in conspectu omnium qui nos sicut corrupte vivere, id est, luxuriae deservire, clamans Deo "Pater noster, qui es in coelis"? Cf. Zeno's *Tractatus* 2, 14, 4 (Giuliani 190).

⁶ *Historia imperialis* 1 (PL 11, 226 B-227 A).

⁷ *Miracula S. Zenonis* 4, AS Aprilis 2, 76 E; PL 11, 227 D.

⁸ Cf. PL 11, 227 AB. Other testimonies are collected there (227 B-229 A) by the Ballerini.

taining the sermons in the episcopal library in Verona. The preparation for printing and publication was then undertaken by the Dominican Albertus Castellanus and Magister Iacobus de Leuco. The 105 *Tractatus* that appeared were divided into three books: *De virtutibus et vitiis*, *De rebus Veteris Testamenti*, and *De rebus Novi Testamenti*.⁹

There was much dissatisfaction over the uncritical methods employed by the publishers of the first edition. With a more satisfactory edition in view, two priests, Raphael Bagata and Baptista Peretti, set to work on a second edition which appeared in 1586.¹⁰ But this edition was also far from satisfactory. Among other things, the editors made the mistake of defending the third century theory regarding Zeno. They attempted to explain away Zeno's words, *ante annos ferme quadringentos*, by asserting that *quadringentos* was a corruption from *ducentos*. But, as Bigelmair rightly observes, this might have been possible if the number had been written in numerals, whereas it was actually spelled out in letters.¹¹

In the eighteenth century two priests of Verona, Jerome and Peter Ballerini, were determined to correct the mistakes of Bagata and Peretti and to publish a critical edition that was to include only the sermons that were genuinely Zeno's. Before them, some had even maintained that none of the *Tractatus* were Zeno's—regardless of whether he had lived in the third or fourth century—but that they were a collection from many authors.¹² Evidently, then, there was a pressing need for a clarification of the situation.

The Ballerini edition was the first to be based upon a comparative study of a number of manuscripts. Of the nine manuscripts used, the oldest was the Rheims codex of the eighth century; it had been discovered in the Benedictine abbey at Rheims. This codex was later given to St. Remigius by Hincmar, archbishop

⁹ Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 8 f.

¹⁰ *Sermones S. Zenonis episcopi Veronensis et martyris* (Verona, 1586).

¹¹ Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 10 f.

¹² E.g., L. Ellies du Pin, *Nouvelle bibliotheque des auteurs ecclésiastiques* 1 (Paris, 1693), 202 f. Cf. also W. S. Teuffel-W. Kroll-S. Skutsch, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* 3 (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913⁶), 256.

of Rheims (845–882).¹³ It comprised 103 *Tractatus* divided into two books. On the margins were written many notes and remarks pertaining to the liturgical services. For example, at the beginning of the sermon bearing the title, *Ad neophytos post baptismum*,¹⁴ was found a marginal note that read: “Ad S. Stephanum ad Martyres secunda feria paschae legenda in ambone, antequam Pontifex consignationem sancti Spiritus celebrare incipiat.” This note indicates that the manuscript originated in Verona for the cathedral church of Verona was named *S. Stephani ad Martyres*. The other eight manuscripts used by the Ballerini also had liturgical notes which pointed to their Veronese origin.¹⁵

The edition of the Ballerini appeared in 1739 and included only 93 *Tractatus* divided into two books; the first book embodied 16 *Tractatus*, the second, 77. The remaining 10 *Tractatus* were found to be unauthentic and were ascribed to various authors, such as Hilary, Basil, and Caesarius of Arles. The editors were surprised to discover that the unauthentic *Tractatus* always occurred in the last place in all the manuscripts.

The Ballerini maintained that there was only one Zeno of Verona and that he was the bishop of that city from 362 to 380. Their edition of Zeno's sermons was accompanied by a lengthy and learned dissertation on the life, doctrinal views, and cult of St. Zeno.

A reprint of the Ballerini edition was later incorporated into the *Bibliotheca veterum patrum* of Galland¹⁶ in 1769, and again in 1845 into volume 11 of the *Patrologia latina* of Migne.

In more recent times, Count John Baptist Giuliani, canon and librarian of the cathedral chapter in Verona, attempted to publish an edition superior to that of the Ballerini. He sought for and found additional manuscripts, the most notable of which was the *Codex Pistoriensis*, found in the cathedral library of Pistoja. This codex also possessed liturgical notes in the margins, and the

¹³ Cf. *Hincmari carmina* (MGH *Poetae latini aevi Carolini* 3, 2, 755 Traube).

¹⁴ *Tractatus* 2, 43 (Giuliani 253–256).

¹⁵ Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 14 f.

¹⁶ A. Galland, *Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum* 5 (Venice, 1769), 109–158.

unauthentic *Tractatus* were again found to be in the last place. The first Giuliani edition appeared in 1883;¹⁷ the second, an unaltered edition, was published in 1900.¹⁸

Although the Giuliani edition of the *Tractatus* is the best to date, it is not sufficiently critical, as Bigelmair repeatedly observes.¹⁹ A competent critical edition is an urgent need; it is expected to be produced and published by the Vienna Academy of Sciences in the *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*. In his *Zeno von Verona*, published in 1904, Bigelmair stated that the task of preparing this desired critical edition had already been placed into the hands of K. Ziwsa; however, the work was taken over by S. Friedl in 1913.²⁰ How far this work is advanced today, the writer is unable to ascertain.

As the *Tractatus* now appear in Giuliani's edition, they remain divided into two books—as was the case with the Ballerini edition—and comprise a total of 93 sermons. The 16 *Tractatus* of the first book deal principally with moral subjects; the 77 of the second book are partly doctrinal and partly exegetical. Most of the latter were delivered at the Easter services. The far greater number of the *Tractatus* are quite short; some are only fragments or sketches of sermons, while others are short talks addressed to the baptismal candidates or to the newly baptized. These latter can hardly be called sermons. Moreover, the first sermon of the entire collection is considered by some to be a letter, not a sermon.²¹

¹⁷ Cf. the reviews of it by R. Sabbadini, "S. Zenonis episcopi Veronensis sermones," RFIC 12 (1884), 136-141; and by L. Duchesne, "S. Zenonis episcopi Veronensis sermones," BC 4 (1883), 325-328.

¹⁸ J. B. Giuliani, *S. Zenonis episcopi Veronensis sermones* (Verona, 1900²). Cf. A. Ehrhard, *Die altchristliche Literatur und ihre Erforschung seit 1800*, SThS 1, 4/5 (1894), 153-154.

¹⁹ Cf. his *Zeno von Verona*, 18 f.; also ²BKV 2 R. 10, 52; and LThK 10 (1938), 1057. See O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* 3, 480; A. Ehrhard, *op. cit.* SThS 1, 4/5 (1894), 154.

²⁰ *Zeno von Verona*, 22. K. Ziwsa took over the task as early as 1891; cf. CSEL 25 (back cover). The work passed on to S. Friedl as early as 1913; cf. CSEL 39 (back cover).

²¹ Cf. O. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.* 3, 478; Giuliani 3, n. b; PL 11, 253, n. 1; U. Moricca, *op. cit.* 2, 1, 567.

The doctrinal contents of the *Tractatus* deal with subjects such as the virtues of faith, hope, and charity; Holy Scripture as a source of faith and as the word of God; tradition as a source of faith; the concept of God and of the Holy Trinity; Christology—the principal topic of the present inquiry—and Soteriology; Mariology; creation and original sin; the sacraments, the Church, the communion of Saints; the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body; the last judgment, good works.²² These subjects are not usually treated *ex professo* by Zeno, but are found scattered throughout his sermons. Some themes, however, such as the resurrection of the body and the generation of the Son of God, are chosen as specific topics for his sermons.

Zeno's teaching on the perpetual virginity of Mary is worthy of special note. He says:

Maria virgo incorrupta concepit, post conceptum virgo peperit, post partum virgo permansit.²³ Ceterum illa fuit virgo post connubium, virgo post conceptum, virgo post filium.²⁴ Stupet talem sibi Filium provenisse, qui ex se natus non crederetur, nisi, sicut fuit virgo incorrupta post conceptum, permaneret talis quoque post partum.²⁵

Zeno is one of the first of the Latin Fathers to teach the virginity of Mary *ante partum, in partu, et post partum* in the physiological sense; even among the Greek Fathers no one taught this doctrine in such clear terms and at so early a period as did Zeno.²⁶

²² For summaries of Zeno's theology, cf. Giuliani xlv-lxx: "Catechismus Zenonianus"; Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 95-128, and ²BKV 2 R. 10, 34 f. See also J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes* 2 (Paris, 1924⁸), 530 (index); I. F. De Groot, *Conspectus historiae dogmatum* 2 (Rome, 1931), 436, 438, 454, 459, and *passim*; F. Schütz, *S. Zenonis episcopi Veronensis doctrina christiana* (Leipzig, 1854), 9-19.

²³ *Tractatus*, 2, 8, 2 (Giuliani 163).

²⁴ *Tractatus*, 1, 5, 3 (Giuliani 46).

²⁵ *Tractatus* 2, 9, 1 (Giuliani 166).

²⁶ Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 117, and ²BKV 2 R. 10, 41; also C. Weyman, "Zeno von Verona," KH 2 (1912), 2800. Zeno's significance for Mariology is noted by F. A. Lehner, *Die Marienverehrung in den ersten Jahrhunderten* (Stuttgart, 1886²) 33 f., 68, 125-128, 154, 174, 176, 179; T. Livius, *The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers of the First Six Cen-*

There is also much in Zeno's sermons that pertains to the ancient Christian liturgy, as, for example, the ancient customs prevalent during the liturgical services. Thus, baptism was administered by immersion. The neophytes received a white garment. The water used for baptism was running water and it was warmed. Salt and oil were used. The candidates for baptism carried a wooden cross. The Holy Eucharist was administered immediately after baptism and under both species; furthermore, the sacred host was taken home by the faithful. The remains of the deceased were exposed in church during Mass. The *agapae*, or love feasts, were a common practice.²⁷

The sources for Zeno's ideas and terminology can be found in both profane and sacred literature.²⁸ There are definite traces of pagan authors such as Horace, Sallust, Ovid, Cicero, and especially Vergil,²⁹ and also Apuleius of Madaura.³⁰ Christian sources naturally arouse greater interest. The version of the Scriptures which Zeno used possesses many individual characteristics,³¹

turies (London, 1893), 126 f., 206 f., 214; O. Bardenhewer, *Mariä Verkündigung* (Freiburg i. B., 1905), 169-172, and his *Marienpredigten aus der Väterzeit* (Munich, 1934), 37-40; A. d'Alès, "Marie, Mère de Dieu," *DAFC* 3 (1916), 204; E. Dublanchy, "Marie," *DThC* 9, 2 (1927), 2352, 2375; J. Tixeront, *op. cit.*, 2, 330 f.; I. F. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 2, 471.

²⁷ Cf. Giuliani's *Prolegomena*, lxxi-lxxvii, where he has collected many other matters of both sacred and profane interest.

²⁸ Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 68-91, has treated this subject very thoroughly. He has gathered a large number of texts, including both pagan and Christian writers, and has placed them side by side with the texts of Zeno. Cf. also ²BKV 2 R., 10, 23 f.

²⁹ Cf. H. Januel, *Commentationes philologicae in Zenonem Veronensem, Gaudentium Brixiensem, Petrum Chrysologum Ravennatem* 1: *Programm zum Jahresbericht über das Kgl. Alte Gymnasium zu Regensburg im Schuljahre 1904/1905* (Stadtamhof, 1906), 27-38, for a study of traces of Vergil, Ovid, and Cicero in Zeno's *Tractatus*.

³⁰ Cf. C. Weyman, "Studien zu Apuleius und seinen Nachahmern," *SBAW* (1893, 2) 350-361; F. Gatscha, *Quaestionum Apuleianarum capita tria*, *DPhV* 6 (Vienna, 1898), 157; K. Barth, *Adversariorum commentariorum libri* 60, 43, 10 (Frankfurt, 1624), 1944: Cum Zenonis Veronensium quondam antistitis sermones lego, Christianum quemdam Appuleium legere mihi videor.

³¹ Cf. P. Sabatier, *Bibliborum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae seu vetus Italica et ceterae* 3 (Rheims, 1743), 212, n. 9; 638, n. 33; 639, n. 34; 865, n. 3; 866, nos. 4, 5, 9; and in many other places.

though, to a great extent, it is in accord with that employed by Cyprian, especially in his *Testimonia ad Quirinum*.³²

Zeno's notion of Christ's secret entry into the world can be traced back to Ignatius of Antioch. This idea of Ignatius was quite generally known to the Fathers, and therefore Zeno may have adopted it from their writings and only indirectly from Ignatius himself.³³ His concept of the Church as a tower is an imitation of the same concept found in the *Shepherd of Hermas*.³⁴ He was acquainted with the apocryphal writings, *Acts of Paul and Thecla*³⁵ and *Protevangelium of James*.³⁶

The dependence of Zeno upon Tertullian is notable; he imitates him, not only in his ideas, but also in his ability to say a great deal in a few words, in his use of irony and sarcasm, and in his inclination towards rigorism, for example, when he opposes second marriages.³⁷ He not only follows the version of the Scriptures found in Cyprian's writings, but he also copies some of Cyprian's ideas and expressions.³⁸ There are some passages in pseudo-Cyprian, *De bono pudicitiae*, which are very similar to passages found in Zeno's *Tractatus*.³⁹ The same is true of the so-called

³² Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 56, 71-77; ²BKV 2 R., 10, 34, and frequently in the footnotes. O. Bardenhewer agrees with Bigelmair; cf. his *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* 3, 479. Zeno's texts may be compared also with the African New Testament of Cyprian's time as given by H. von Soden, *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians*, TU 33 (Leipzig, 1909), 367-610.

³³ This concept is treated at greater length in chapter 4, 1.

³⁴ *Tractatus* 1, 14, 4 (Giuliari 106 f.): Omnibus peraeque unus panis cum signo datur, aqua cum vino, sal, ignis et oleum, tunica rudis et unus denarius, quem qui libens acceperit, acceptumque non spreverit, sed in labore usque ad ultimum perduraverit, *turri completa*, inaestimabiles divitias in ea commanens possidebit. Cf. *Hermas Pastor*, vis. 3, 8, 9 (LCL *Apostolic Fathers* 2, 48 Lake). Cf. J. C. Plumpe, *Mater Ecclesia*, SCA 5 (1943), 20, 24.

³⁵ Cf. *Tractatus* 1, 8, 3 (Giuliari 68) and M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1926), 272-281.

³⁶ Cf. *Tractatus* 2, 8, 2 (Giuliari 163) and M. R. James, *op. cit.*, 46 f.

³⁷ Cf. C. Weyman, "Studien zu Apuleius und seinen Nachahmern," SBAW (1893, 2), 352; A. Harnack, "Tertullian in der Literatur der alten Kirche," SPAW (1895, 2), 565; Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 78-81.

³⁸ Cf. Bigelmair, *op. cit.*, 81 f.

³⁹ Cf. Bigelmair, *op. cit.*, 82 f.; C. Weyman, "Ueber die den Cyprianus

Tractatus Origenis, ascribed to Gregory of Elvira,⁴⁰ in which the teaching on circumcision is much the same as that of Zeno.⁴¹

The similarity of Zeno with Lactantius is even more pronounced than with Tertullian. Zeno often copies passages almost word for word from Lactantius.⁴² Another noteworthy source for Zeno's ideas is Hilary of Poitiers who died during the episcopate of Zeno in 367. The chief similarity is noticeable between Zeno's *Tractatus* and Hilary's *Tractatus super Psalmos*.⁴³

A problem is presented by the so-called *Caena Cypriani* which is believed to be based upon Zeno rather than vice versa.⁴⁴ The so-called Ambrosiaster entails a similar difficulty.⁴⁵

The style in Zeno's sermons possesses the characteristics of African Latin, that is, a largely Latinized Greek.⁴⁶ Zeno often

beigelegten Schriften *De spectaculis* und *De bono pudicitiae*," HJ 13, 3 (1892), 748; J. Martin, "Zu Novatians *De bono pudicitiae*," BPhW 39, 27 (1919), 642.

⁴⁰ Cf. G. Morin, "Les nouveaux *Tractatus Origenis* et l'héritage littéraire de l'évêque espagnol Grégoire d'Illyrie," RHLR 5 (1900), 145-161. Cf. also P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne* (Paris, 1924²), 344 f.; F. Cayré, *Précis de patrologie et d'histoire de la théologie* 1 (Paris, 1931²), 323; J. Tixeront, *Histoire de dogmes* 2 (Paris, 1924⁸), 258, n. 1; U. Moricca, *Storia della letteratura latina cristiana*, 2, 1, 208-212.

⁴¹ Gregory of Elvira, *Tractatus Origenis de libris ss. scripturarum* 4 (Batiffol 34-43). Compare with Zeno's *Tractatus* 1, 13 (Giuliani 91-100).

⁴² Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 84-88, where a large number of texts of Zeno and Lactantius are placed side by side.

⁴³ Cf. Bigelmair, *op. cit.*, 89-91.

⁴⁴ Cf. H. Brewer, "Über den Heptateuchdichter Cyprian und die *Caena Cypriani*," ZThK 28 (1904), 92-115, who says (p. 101) that the *Caena* is only a development and enlargement of Zeno's short *Tractatus* 2, 38 (Giuliani 241-244), entitled *Ad neophytos post baptisma* 1. The author of the *Caena* is believed to have lived in the fifth century; cf. B. Altaner, *Patrologie* (Freiburg i. B., 1938), 263; F. Cayré, *Précis de patrologie et d'histoire de la théologie* 1, 550; B. Steidle, *Patrologia seu historia antiquae litteraturae ecclesiasticae* (Freiburg i. B., 1937), 199. Cf. U. Moricca's study, *Storia della letteratura latina cristiana* 1, 541 f.

⁴⁵ Cf. A. d'Alès, "L'Ambrosiaster et Zénon de Vérone," Gr 10 (1929), 404-409, who concludes (p. 409) that Zeno and Ambrosiaster fell under a common influence and that they are two distinct authors.

⁴⁶ Cf. E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* 2 (Leipzig, 1898), 588-598; H. Leclercq, *L'Afrique chrétienne* 1 (Paris, 1904), 88-104; P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, 58-63. For a study of Zeno's

made use of Latinized Greek terms such as, for example, *apophoreta*,⁴⁷ *bromosus*,⁴⁸ *cacabacius*,⁴⁹ *prodromus*,⁵⁰ *protoplastus*,⁵¹ and the like.

Anaphora, or the repetition of a word or words at the beginnings of successive clauses, appears often in Zeno's sermons, as well as alliteration or the repetition of the same vowel or consonant sound at the beginning of successive words of the same sentence. A rhythmical flow of words or phrases can be detected at times as well as parallelism of phrases and sentences. Often conjunctions or connecting particles are omitted (*asyndeton*), and sometimes words are found to rhyme. Metaphors, irony, antithesis, and other rhetorical figures, are also within the repertoire of the author.⁵²

Generally speaking, the style of Zeno may be termed elegant. This elegance has been pointed out in assigning to him a place of eminence in diction among the Latin Fathers.⁵³

Zeno's *Tractatus* are considered to be among the oldest specimens of Latin sermons extant. Hence, Zeno is one of the earliest representatives of sacred oratory in the West.⁵⁴

style, cf. K. Ziwsa, "Zur stilistischen Würdigung des Zeno Veronensis," *Festgabe zum 100jährigen Jubiläum des Schottengymnasiums gewidmet von ehemaligen Schottenschülern* (Vienna, 1907), 372-380.

⁴⁷ *Tractatus* 2, 38 (Giuliari 243): Zachaeus sine mora quadruplicata expungit *apophoreta*.

⁴⁸ *Tractatus* 1, 15, 5 (Giuliari 112): Si diis corporalibus sacrificium convenit corporale, utique et spiritali Deo sacrificium est necessarium spiritale, . . . quod non *bromosis* pecudibus, sed suavissimis moribus comparatur. Cf. also *Tractatus* 2, 61 (Giuliari 284): Quis non intelligit, fratres, illud Pascha non esse, sed *bromosum* latronis cruenti convivium?

⁴⁹ *Tractatus* 2, 44, 1 (Giuliari 258): Certe *cacabacii* (panes) non sunt.

⁵⁰ *Tractatus* 2, 8, 3 (Giuliari 158): (Hoc) signum ex *prodromi* quoque eius designatione dilucidavit.

⁵¹ *Tractatus* 1, 16, 12 (Giuliari 128): Ille princeps iniquitatis suo semine per invidiam *protoplastos* ex Angelis in homines derivavit. For other such words, cf. Giuliari's "Glossarium Zenonianum," 315-351.

⁵² Cf. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 128-137; also ²BKV 2 R., 10, 45-49.

⁵³ Cf. J. Fessler-B. Jungmann, *Institutiones patrologiae* 1, 713: Sanctus hic episcopus, qui inter Latinos elegantia dictionis eminet, plurimos reliquit tractatus. Cf. also PL 11, 227 A-229 A.

⁵⁴ Cf. Bigelmair, LThK 10 (1938), 1057.

CHAPTER III

THE GENERATION OF THE SON IN ZENO'S THEOLOGY

1

ZENO'S DOCTRINE OF THE TWOFOLD STATE OF THE SON: HIS ETERNAL PRE-EXISTENCE IN THE BOSOM OF THE FATHER AND HIS PROCESSION FOR THE PURPOSE OF CREATION

What has been considered thus far concerning Zeno's concept of the coequality of the Son with the Father has offered no particular difficulty. His teaching in this respect is quite clear and orthodox beyond dispute. But a serious problem confronts one who attempts to formulate a clear-cut notion of his views on the eternal relations existing between the Father and the Son.

To begin with, the difficulty arises from the fact that Zeno speaks of the Son as *proceeding from* and being *born* or *begotten* of the Father for the purpose of creation. What does he understand by this procession or birth? Does he mean by it that the Father did not beget the Son by an eternal generation, but by a temporal generation which occurred at the time appointed for creation? This question demands a solution, if this be possible.

Zeno does not stand alone in propounding his doctrine of the procession of the Son for the purpose of creation nor is he by any means the originator of it. As a matter of fact, he is about the last of the Fathers to uphold a doctrine that had its origin some two centuries before his time. The Greek apologists and certain early Latin writers¹ correlated the generation of the Son with creation long before Zeno.

¹ For a study of the temporal generation, cf. P. Richard, "Fils de Dieu: génération temporelle," DThC 5, 2 (1939), 2418-2421, 2431 f., 2452 f.; J. Lebreton, *Histoire du dogme de la Trinité* 2 (Paris, 1928³), 443-462, 488, 510; J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes* 1 (Paris, 1924²), 244-255; J. H. Newman, "Temporal Genensis," in his *Tracts Theological and Ecclesiastical* (London, 1924, new impression), 57-77, 227-297; also his *Arians of the Fourth Century* (London, 1919, new impression), 196-200, 416-422; and his *Select Treatises of St. Athanasius* (London, 1920, eleventh impression), 400.

A summary of the teaching of these early authors may be given as follows: In the beginning God was alone in so far as any *opus ad extra* was concerned. But within Himself, *ad intra*, He was not alone for He possessed His Reason or His Word within His innermost Self. This Word was the *lógos endiáthetos*, that is, the *immanent* Word residing within the divine mind from eternity. This is the first of the two states of the Word. But when God was prepared to execute the eternal decree of creation, He sent forth His word to create the universe. By this act He *begot* or *generated* the Word who thus became the *lógos proforikós*, that is, the *uttered* or *spoken* Word. Using this Word as His intermediary, God created the world.

Such is the general outline of the theory in question. Whether the Fathers proposing it intended to deny the eternal generation of the Son, or whether they agreed in all or only in some of the phases of the theory, is a matter which can be settled only by a special study of the individual writings. This doctrine, known as the doctrine of the temporal generation or procession or *genesis* of the Word, had already been relegated to the class of heresies by Augustine's time,² but only inasmuch as it denied the dogma of the eternal generation and of the eternal pre-existence of the Son and asserted that the Word was not always the Son but became such only at creation.

The purpose of this inquiry does not demand a complete study of all the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers who upheld the doctrine of the temporal generation. Only a representative group will be considered, namely, Theophilus of Antioch, Tertullian, Novatian, and Lactantius. The views of these writers will provide a sufficiently clear notion of the doctrine in question and will, at the same time, suggest the possible sources of Zeno's teaching.

² Cf. Augustine, *De haeresibus* 80 (PL 42, 45 B): Alia (haeresis), sem-piterne natum non intelligens Filium, putat illam nativitatem sumpsisse a tempore initium: et tamen volens coaeternum Patri Filium confiteri, apud illum fuisse antequam de illo nasceretur, existimat; hoc est, semper eum fuisse, verumtamen semper eum Filium non fuisse, sed ex quo de illo natus est Filium esse coepisse.

In the *Ad Autolycum* of Theophilus of Antioch³ the following significant passage is found: "Having, therefore, His Word residing within His innermost Self, God begot Him together with His Wisdom, issuing Him forth before all things. He had this Word as His minister for the things made by Him and through Him He created all things."⁴

Again, Theophilus writes: "Divine Scripture itself teaches us that Adam said he heard a voice. But what else is this voice if not the Word of God who is also His Son, . . . the Word always existing *embosomed* (*endiátheton*) within the heart of God? For, before anything came to be, He had Him as a counsellor and as His reason and judgment. But when God willed to create the things which He had decreed, He begot this *uttered* (*proforikón*) Word, the first-born of all creation; He did not thereby become devoid of the Word but begetting the Word He always was with His Word."⁵

Here is the first⁶ express use of the pagan philosophical terms *lógos endiáthetos* and *lógos proforikós* as applied to the Divine Word. These terms denote two different states of the Logos: the eternal state in which He remained hidden within God and the state or condition of being begotten for the purpose of creation. Whether Theophilus believed the eternal Word to be a real Person or not before the generation is not clear, although his statement that God had Him as His *counsellor* before anything was made seems to suggest that he did. He seems to know of no other generation than the one by which the Word came forth

³ Besides the works cited above, n. 1, cf. also A. Pommrich, "Des Apologeten Theophilus von Antiochia Gottes- und Logoslehre," *Jahresbericht der Annenschule zu Dresden-Altstadt* 613 (1902), 21-24. For other Greek apologists, cf., for example, G. Bardy, "Justin (saint), philosophe et martyr," DThC 8, 2 (1925), 2256-2261; M. J. Lagrange, *Saint Justin, philosophe, martyr* (Paris, 1914³), 157-175; É. Amann, "Hippolyte (Saint)," DThC 6, 2 (1920), 2506-2509; A. d'Alès, *La théologie de saint Hippolyte* (Paris, 1906), 21-35; D. B. Capelle, "Le Logos, Fils de Dieu, dans la théologie d'Hippolyte," RTh 9 (1937), 109-124.

⁴ *Ad Autolycum* 2, 10 (CA 8, 78 Otto).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 2, 22 (CA 8, 118 Otto).

⁶ Cf. J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes* 1, 247; F. Cayré, *Précis de patrologie et d'histoire de la théologie* 1 (Paris, 1931²), 105, n. 4. See also J. Lebreton, *Histoire du dogme de la Trinité* 2, 510.

in view of creation and he says that God begot the Word *when He willed to create*.

Tertullian⁷ developed this theory in greater detail. In his *Adversus Praxean* he describes the eternal state of God before creation as follows: "Ante omnia enim deus erat solus, ipse sibi et mundus et locus et omnia, solus autem, quia nihil aliud extrinsecus praeter illum. Ceterum ne tunc quidem solus, habebat enim secum quam habebat in semetipso, rationem suam scilicet. Rationalis enim deus, et ratio in ipsum prius. . . . Hanc Graeci *lógon* dicunt, quo vocabulo etiam sermonem appellamus."⁸ Thus, Tertullian views the *ratio Dei* as existent from eternity, though he does not indicate here clearly whether this *ratio* was a Person or not.

It is not correct, continues Tertullian, to say that the Word existed from eternity, even though we speak thus in common everyday language: "Ideoque iam in usu est nostrorum per simplicitatem interpretationis sermonem dicere in primordio apud deum fuisse, cum magis rationem competat, [antiquiorem haberi] quia *non sermonalis a principio* sit rationalis deus [etiam ante principium]."⁹ It is more exact, argues Tertullian, to consider Divine Reason as more ancient and existing even before the beginning, whereas the Word was not in God from the beginning.

God brought the Word into existence by an inner conversation within Himself, so to speak, or by an exercise of His eternal Reason: "Nam etsi deus nondum sermonem suum miserat, proinde eum cum ipsa et in ipsa ratione intra semetipsum habebat, tacite cogitando et disponendo secum quae per sermonem mox erat dicturus. *Cum ratione enim sua cogitans atque disponens [sermone], sermonem eam efficiebat*, quam sermone tractabat."¹⁰

Tertullian follows this up with an illustration from man's own mental activity by which he produces and utters a word which he first potentially possesses in his reason. Then he concludes: "Possum itaque non temere praestruxisse et tunc deum ante uni-

⁷ Cf. A. d'Alès, *La théologie de Tertullien* (Paris, 1905), 85-96.

⁸ *Adversus Praxean* 5 (CSEL 47, 233, 7-13 Kroymann).

⁹ *Loc. cit.* (CSEL 47, 233, 13-17 Kroymann).

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.* (CSEL 47, 233, 19-24 Kroymann).

versitatis constitutionem solum non fuisse, habentem in semetipso proinde rationem et in ratione sermonem, *quem secundum a se fecerat agitando intra se.*"¹¹ Thus, God produced a double of Himself, *secundum a se*, or another Self.

This Word was sent forth by God for the purpose of creation: "Iam, ut primum deus voluit ea, quae cum sophiae ratione et sermone disposuerat intra se in substantias et species suas edere, *ipsum primum protulit sermonem*, habentem in se individuas suas [socias,] rationem et sophiam, *ut per ipsum fierent universa*, per quem erant cogitata atque disposita."¹²

The procession of the Word for the purpose of creating is called *the perfect birth of the Word* by Tertullian: "Tunc igitur etiam ipse sermo speciem et ornatum suum sumit, sonum et vocem, cum dicit deus: 'Fiat lux.' *Haec est nativitas perfecta sermonis*, dum ex deo procedit. Conditus ab eo primum ad cogitatum in nomine sophiae: 'Dominus condidit me initium viarum suarum,' dehinc generatus ad effectum: 'Cum pararet caelum, aderam illi.'"¹³

The fact that this nativity of the Word was perfect at creation suggests that it was once imperfect; perhaps the Word existed in a state comparable to conception and pregnancy, for Tertullian speaks of the Him as being emitted *de vulva cordis*, as the passage below indicates. Therefore, the Word was not begotten or born until He came forth from the Father for the achievement of creation.

Tertullian's chief error in this matter is brought to light in the following text in which he speaks of the Word as becoming the Son only at creation: "Exinde, eum patrem sibi faciens, *de quo procedendo, filius factus est*, 'primogenitus,'¹⁴ ut ante omnia genitus, et 'unigenitus,'¹⁵ ut solus ex deo genitus, proprie *de vulva cordis* ipsius, secundum quod et pater ipse testatur: 'Erucitavit'¹⁶ cor meum sermonem optimum.'"¹⁷ In his *Adversus*

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, 5 (CSEL 47, 234, 14-18 Kroymann).

¹² *Op. cit.*, 6 (CSEL 47, 235, 6-10 Kroymann).

¹³ *Op. cit.*, 7 (CSEL 47, 235, 14-19 Kroymann).

¹⁴ Cf. Col. 1, 15.

¹⁵ Cf. I John 4, 9.

¹⁶ Ps. 44, 1.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.* (CSEL 47, 235, 19-24 Kroymann).

Hermogenem Tertullian asserts unequivocally that there was a time when the Son did not yet exist: "Et pater deus est, et iudex deus est, non tamen ideo pater et iudex semper, quia deus semper. Nam nec pater potuit esse ante filium nec iudex ante delictum. *Fuit autem tempus, cum et delictum et filius non fuit, quod iudicem et qui patrem deum faceret.*"¹⁸

Novatian¹⁹ belongs to the same school of thought as does Tertullian for his doctrine of the origin of the Son is similar to that of Tertullian. He writes: "Est ergo deus pater omnium institutor et creator, solus originem nesciens. . . . Ex quo, *quando ipse voluit, sermo filius natus est.* . . . Hic ergo, cum sit genitus a patre, semper est in patre . . . qui ante omne tempus est, semper in patre fuisse dicendus est: nec enim tempus illi assignari potest, qui ante tempus est. . . . *Hic ergo, quando pater voluit, processit ex patre* . . . cuius nomen est verbum, per quod facta sunt omnia. . . . Qui processit ex eo, ex cuius voluntate facta sunt omnia, deus utique procedens ex deo."²⁰

Novatian professes that the Word was always in the Father, that He came forth as God from God, and that He was before all time. However, he says that the Word *became* the Son when He was begotten, *sermo filius natus est*, and that He came forth *when the Father willed it, quando pater voluit*.

The beliefs of Lactantius²¹ contain a peculiarity that does not appear in the other authors. According to him, God created two holy spirits in the beginning, the one remaining good, the other becoming wicked. In his *Divinae institutiones* he writes: "Cum esset deus ad excogitandum providentissimus, et ad faciendum sollertissimus, antequam ordiretur hoc opus mundi . . . *produxit similem sui spiritum*, qui esset virtutibus patris dei praeditus. . . . *Deinde fecit alterum*, in quo indoles divinae stirpis non per-

¹⁸ *Adversus Hermogenem* 3 (CSEL 47, 129, 2-6 Kroymann).

¹⁹ Cf. É. Amann, "Novatien et novatianisme," DThC 11, 1 (1931), 822-826; A. d'Alès, "Novatien et la doctrine de la Trinité à Rome au milieu du troisième siècle," Gr 3 (1922), 508-519.

²⁰ *De Trinitate* 31 (CPT Novatian 115-119 Fausset).

²¹ In addition to the authors quoted above, p. 28, n. 1, cf. also É. Amann, "Lactance," DThC 8, 2 (1925), 2438-2440.

mansit. Itaque suapte invidia tamquam veneno infectus est et ex bono ad malum transcendit.”²²

In a later chapter of the same work he gives some additional details regarding the Son: “Deus igitur machinator constitutorque rerum, sicut in secundo libro diximus, *antequam praeclarum hoc opus mundi adoriretur, sanctum et incorruptibilem spiritum genuit, quem filium nuncuparet*. Et quamvis alios postea innumerabiles creavisset . . . hunc tamen solum primogenitum divini nominis appellatione dignatus est, patria scilicet virtute ac maiestate pollentem.”²³ This *holy and incorruptible spirit* received the name *Son* when God begot Him before creation. But whether Lactantius understands the expression *antequam opus mundi adoriretur* to mean *ab aeterno*, is not clear.

Lactantius’ notion of the mode of the Son’s generation is worthy of special note: “Ille (deus) vero cum est et ipse spiritus, tamen *cum voce ac sono ex dei ore processit sicut verbum*, ea scilicet ratione, quia voce eius ad populum fuerat usus. . . . Igitur sermo et verbum dei dicitur, quia deus procedentem de ore suo vocalem spiritum, quem non utero, sed mente conceperat.”²⁴ With these words Lactantius seems to intimate that the Word of God was *conceived* in the divine mind before He proceeded from the mouth of God. Hence, he may well have believed in an eternal *conception*, but in a temporal *generation* of the Word.

Having begotten or produced the Word, God used Him as an intermediary in creating as Lactantius says: “Hic est virtus, hic ratio, hic sermo dei, hic sapientia. *Hoc opifice*, ut Hermes ait, et consiliatore, ut Sibylla, [et] *praeclaram et mirabilem huius mundi fabricam machinatus est*.”²⁵

Mention should also be made of Lactantius’ teaching of the twofold nativity of the Word: “In primis enim testificamur illum *bis esse natum*, primum in spiritu, postea in carne. Unde apud Hieremiam ita dicitur: ‘Priusquam te formarem in utero, novi

²² *Divinae institutiones* 2, 8 (CSEL 19, 129, 7-9, 11-16 Brandt).

²³ *Op. cit.*, 4, 6 (CSEL 19, 286, 5-11 Brandt). See also *Epitome divinarum institutionum* 37 (CSEL 19, 712, 17-25 Brandt).

²⁴ *Divinae institutiones* 4, 8 (CSEL 19, 296, 17-297, 2, 5-7 Brandt).

²⁵ *Epitome* 37 (CSEL 19, 712, 20-23 Brandt).

te' ;²⁶ item: 'Beatus qui erat antequam nasceretur' ; quod nulli alii contigit praeter Christum. Qui cum esset a principio filius dei, regeneratus est denuo secundum carnem."²⁷ Again, he says: "Idem est dei et hominis filius. *Bis enim natus est.*"²⁸ The clause *qui erat antequam nasceretur* does not occur in the Vulgate of Jeremias. If Lactantius applies these latter words to the carnal birth of Christ, there is no difficulty involved ; but this cannot be said with certainty.

The views of the foregoing authors, as well as others of the same family of thought, on the generation of the Son suggest that perhaps they consider the Word as *conceived* from eternity and as remaining hidden *in utero* or *corde Patris* (Theophilus: *Within His innermost Self* and *Within the heart of God*; Tertullian: *vulva cordis*) ; but they believe Him to be *born* only when the time had come for Him to create. If this is so, these authors place the generation of the Son on a certain parallel with human generation ; it is then difficult to understand how they avoid admitting of a gradual process in the divine act. Their theory could possibly be based upon an imperfect notion of the immutability and simplicity of the divine substance, a notion which they perhaps retained after their conversion from paganism.

If these writers conceive of the Son as begotten in time, they lend support to the Arian tenet: *Fuit tempus, quando non fuit Filius*. Although they admit the eternal pre-existence of the Reason of God, they deny either that He was the Word from eternity or that He was the Son until begotten for the purpose of creation. Tertullian, in particular, states explicitly that God was not a Father always and that the Son was not always the Son. This is the error that Hilary brands as heresy when writing against the Arians: "Pium tibi ac religiosum, *haeretice*, existimas, Deum semper quidem, sed *non semper patrem* confiteri? Quod si ita sentire te pium est, Paulum impietatis necesse est, Filium 'ante tempora aeterna' "²⁹ esse dicentem, condemnes. . . . Sed tu,

²⁶ Jer. 1, 5.

²⁷ *Divinae institutiones* 4, 8 (CSEL 19, 295, 5-10 Brandt).

²⁸ *Epitome* 38 (CSEL 19, 714, 7-8 Brandt).

²⁹ Cf. Tit. 1, 2.

ut Deo initium tribuas quo pater est, prius temporibus initium decerne quo coepta erunt." ³⁰

What share does Zeno take in the theories of the foregoing authors? Does he accept their views without change or does he subject them to at least some correction?

The first unquestionable reference to the procession of the Son for the purpose of creation is found in Zeno's short sermon entitled *De genesi, seu De aeterna Filii Dei generatione*. He states:

Sicut Sacra Scriptura testatur, erat ante omnia manens, unus et idem alter ex semet ipso in semet ipsum Deus, secreti sui solus conscius, cuius ex ore (ut rerum natura, quae non erat, fingeretur) prodixit unigenitus Filius, cordis eius nobilis inquilinus, exinde visibilis necessario effectus, quia orbem terrae erat ipse facturus, humanumque visitaturus genus, alias aequalis in omnibus Patri. Quidquid enim praecepit Pater, ut fieret Filius, utpote Dei virtus Deique sapientia, omnia illa opere mirifico eius cum dicto complevit.³¹

As Sacred Scripture testifies, God was abiding before all things, (being) one and at the same time another, (proceeding) from Himself into Himself, He alone knowing of His secret. Out of His mouth—in order that the natural order of things, which did not exist, be formed—the only-begotten Son, the noble inhabitant of His heart, came forth. For this reason, He was necessarily made visible because He was to create the world and visit the human race; otherwise, (He was) equal to the Father in all things. For whatever the Father commanded to be made, the Son, as the Power and the Wisdom of God, accomplished all those things in an admirable work with His (the Father's) word.

The above passage states in plain language that the Son came forth from God *in order to create*; however, it does not indicate in as many words that this procession was a *birth* or *generation*.

In the sermon that follows the foregoing in the collection of Zeno's *Tractatus* and bears the title *De fide, seu de aeterna Filii*

³⁰ *De Trinitate* 12, 34 (PL 10, 453 B).

³¹ *Tractatus* 2, 4 (Giuliani 143 f.).

Dei generatione, Zeno makes it quite clear that the Son was begotten or born while coming forth to create. He says:

Principium, fratres, Dominus noster incunctanter est Christus, quem ante omnia saecula Pater, adhuc uterque in semetipso Deus, beatæ perpetuitatis indiscreta Spiritus plenitudine, nescio qua sua conscientia velatum, Filii non sine affectu, sed sine discrimine amplectebatur. *Sed excogitatarum ut ordinem instrueret rerum, ineffabilis illa virtus incomprehensibilisque sapientia e regione cordis eructat Verbum*, omnipotentia se propagat. *De Deo nascitur Deus*, totum Patris habens, nihil derogans Patri. . . . Laetatur Pater in alio se, quem genuit ex se.³²

Without doubt, brethren, the beginning is Christ Our Lord whom the Father embraced before all ages while the God of blessed eternity (was) yet one in the other together with the undivided fullness of the Spirit—I know not how (He was) veiled in the knowledge of Himself—not without a love for the Son, but without separation. *But that ineffable Power and incomprehensible Wisdom emits the Word out of the region of the heart in order that He might construct the order of things predetermined; omnipotence propagates itself. God is born of God*, possessing the whole of the Father, taking away nothing from the Father. . . . The Father rejoices in His other Self whom He begot out of Himself.

The whole thought running through the above two passages tends to create a picture of two different states of the Word or Son. In the first, the Word or Son is hidden within God and the secret is known to Him alone; in the second, He appears as going forth for the accomplishment of the task of creation. This, then, appears to be nothing else but the doctrine of the *lógos endiáthetos* and *lógos proforikós* of Theophilus of Antioch.³³

The condition of the Son existing in the Father's eternal embrace is contrasted with His mission as the Creator by Zeno's constant insistence upon the hidden and invisible character of the former and the visible and unveiled nature of the latter. He repeatedly makes use of such phrases as, *secreti sui solus conscius*, *arcano insuspicabili*, *ac soli sibi nota conscientia*, *nescio qua*

³² *Tractatus* 2, 5, 1 (Giuliani 145 f.).

³³ Cf. *supra*, p. 30 f.

sua conscientia velatum—in reference to the Son's eternal state; but His going forth as the Creator draws the observation: *exinde visibilis necessario effectus, quia orbem terrae erat ipse factururus, humanumque visitaturus genus*.³⁴

The contrast is further heightened by Zeno's description of the Son as existing first in the heart of the Father, *cordis eius nobilis inquilinus*, and in the depths of His sacred mind, *in profundo suae sacrae mentis*, then as coming forth from the Father's heart and out of His mouth as His spoken Word, *sapientia e regione cordis eructat Verbum*, and, *cuius ex ore prodixit unigenitus Filius*. His notion is obviously inspired by the words of the first verse of psalm 44: "Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum." His expressions recall the *vulva cordis* of Tertullian³⁵ and His innermost Self and the heart of God of Theophilus.³⁶

The foregoing observations serve to create the belief that, in Zeno's mind, the second state of the Son is that of the *begotten* Son, whereas the first state is that of the yet unbegotten Son. However, a closer study of Zeno's description of the first or eternal state of the Son tends to give the idea that in it the Son is the *eternally begotten* Son. This is indicated, first of all, by the phrase *ex semet ipso in semet ipsum Deus*, which suggests the procession of one Person from the other or the communication of substance by one Person to the other. That this procession is eternal can be gathered from the phrases *ante omnia saecula* and *ante omnia manens*, which can hardly mean anything but *ab aeterno*.

Secondly, the Father and the Son are both distinctly spoken of as existing in the eternal state described by Zeno; hence, he

³⁴ Cf. Marius Victorinus, *De generatione Verbi divini* 14 (PL 8, 1028 A): Etenim gravida occultum habet quod paritura est. Non enim foetus non est ante partum, sed in occulto est; et *generatione pervenit in manifestationem*. See also Hippolytus, *Contra Noetum* 10 (SBAW [1936, 3], 12, 29-13, 1 Schwartz).

³⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 32.

³⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 30, nn. 4 and 5. Cf. also Ambrose, *De fide*, 1, 19, 126 (PL 16, 580 AB): Arius dicit ex nihilo Dei Filium. Quomodo ergo Dei Filius? quomodo *paterno generatus ex utero*? quomodo *eructatum ex corde Verbum* legitur, nisi ut ex intimo et inaestimabili Patris intelligatur, ut scriptum est, *prodiisse secreto*?

evidently believes in the eternal pre-existence of the Son *as the Son* and not merely as the Word who later became the Son. If he believes in the eternal Son, he naturally believes in the *eternally begotten* Son, or in the eternal generation of the Son. The same truth is involved in the fact that he speaks of the Father as the eternal Father, for, as Hilary says: "Ubi enim pater auctor est, ibi et nativitas est: quia sicut nativitas ab auctore est, ita ab aeterno auctore aeterna nativitas est."³⁷

At any rate, Zeno certainly does not accept the error of Tertullian who states that a time existed when neither the Father nor the Son yet existed as such;³⁸ nor does he agree with Novatian, saying that the Word became the Son: *Sermo Filius natus est*.³⁹

It should be carefully observed that Zeno distinctly upholds the eternity of the Son *as the Son* and not merely the eternity of the Word.⁴⁰ Of special significance are his words: *aeterni Dei coaeternus Filius*.⁴¹ The Son is therefore the eternal Son. If He is the Son, He is the begotten Son, for without generation there is no Son.⁴² And, if he is the begotten Son, He is the *eternally begotten* Son; hence, He came forth from the Father by an eternal generation.

The coeternity of the Son is repeatedly stressed by Zeno:

Subiicit se gradibus aetatis, cuius aeternitas in se non admittit aetatem.⁴³ In hominem coapatatus, integumento carnis includitur Deus, humanamque vitam mutuatur de tempore, qui praestat temporibus aeternitatem.⁴⁴ Videamus nunc, optime Christiane, quemadmodum inter Patrem Filiumque tempus infulcias.⁴⁵ Paternae antiquitatis solus (Filius) est conscius.⁴⁶

³⁷ *De Trinitate* 12, 21 (PL 10, 446 A)

³⁸ Cf. *supra*, pp. 31-33.

³⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 33.

⁴⁰ Treated in chapter 2, 5.

⁴¹ *Tractatus* 2, 9, 2 (Giuliani 166).

⁴² As Augustine puts it, *De Trinitate* 5, 7 (PL 42, 914 f.): Ideo quippe Filius, quia genitus; et quia Filius, utique genitus.

⁴³ *Tractatus* 2, 9, 2 (Giuliani 166).

⁴⁴ *Tractatus* 2, 9, 1 (Giuliani 165).

⁴⁵ *Tractatus* 2, 7, 3 (Giuliani 156). Zeno here attacks the heretics who denied the coeternity of the Son with the Father.

⁴⁶ *Tractatus* 2, 55 (Giuliani 277).

It must be further maintained that Zeno clearly speaks of the Son as an *eternally distinct Person*,⁴⁷ not as a mere attribute or latent and impersonal potentiality—an error wrongly attributed to him by certain scholars in the patristic field.⁴⁸ Thus, he says:

Denique *alter in altero exsultat*, cum Spiritus Sancti plenitudine *una originali coaeternitate renitens*.⁴⁹ Religiosa, ut dixi, subiectione est Filius Patri subiectus; cum quo originalis perpetuique regni una (est) possessio, *coaeternitatis* omnipotentiaeque una substantia.⁵⁰ *Duplex (est) persona*, duplex vocabulum, sed *originalis perpetuitatis*, ac deitatis est una substantia.⁵¹

These texts, so clearly implying and presupposing the eternal generation of the Son, are with difficulty reconciled with Zeno's doctrine of the generation of the Son at the time of and for the purpose of creation.

The strongest individual text favoring the eternal generation, though offering only indirect evidence, is Zeno's following statement of the Arian belief in this regard:

Alia (secta) modestius, sed mordacius nocens, dicit quidem Dei Filium Deum, *sed non ex Patre nobilitatis*

⁴⁷ Treated in chapter 2, 5.

⁴⁸ Cf. D. Petavius, *De Trinitate* 1, 5, -7 (Guerin 2 [Barri-Ducis, 1864], 373): *Hic Zeno Verbum Dei ex omni aeternitate in Patris sinu et essentia, velut indiscretum et affixum haesisse, latuisseque demonstrat: postea vero, cum designatam a se rerum universitatem moliri vellet, eum ipsum ex sese propagasse ac genuisse dicit, atque hanc primam e duabus esse nativitatem, quam in sequentibus sermonibus exponit; J. Tixeront, Histoire des dogmes* 2, 264 f.: "Il (Zénon) reprend celui des apologistes sur le double état du Logos, d'abord dans le sein du Père et alors *presque simple attribut de la divinité*, puis proféré pour la création et *acquérant sa pleine personnalité*." Also A. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 108: "Vater und Sohn kannten sich und liebten sich—*aber es war noch kein Unterschied zwischen beiden*"; ²BKV 2 R. 10, 37: "Insofern ist auch der Sohn als selbstständige Persönlichkeit, *aber vor der Zeugung war doch kein Unterschied zwischen Vater und Sohn*." Cf. I. A. Dorner, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi* 1 (Berlin, 1851²), 756 f.

⁴⁹ *Tractatus* 2, 2 (Giuliani 134).

⁵⁰ *Tractatus* 2, 6, 4 (Giuliani 152 f).

⁵¹ *Tractatus* 2, 7, 2 (Giuliani 156).

*perpetuitate progenitum; fuisseque tempus, quando non fuit.*⁵²

If Zeno attributes this error to the Arians, he himself obviously upholds the direct opposite, namely: *Filius ex Patre nobilitatis perpetuitate vere progenitus fuit*. It can hardly be said that he did not intend to convey the idea which his words so clearly connote.

It is difficult to understand how Zeno's words, even in one and the same sermon, lead to opposing and conflicting conclusions, namely, that he professes belief in the eternal generation of the Son while equally upholding His temporal generation. It seems that, in Zeno's case, a profession of the eternal pre-existence of the Son as *the Son* does not necessarily mean that He was eternally *begotten*. Probably he views the Son as *conceived* from eternity but not *born*, strictly speaking, until the time of creation.

Hence, Zeno may have considered the Son as existing from eternity *in utero cordis Patris* and as being *born*, according to the common understanding of human generation, only when the moment of creation had arrived. If this is so, he apparently did not realize that this involves change in the simple and immutable divine essence and that divine generation cannot involve a gradual process, such as is the case with human generation.

Besides the two passages of Zeno already quoted above, there is another, though to a great extent a repetition, which introduces a new and clearer view of Zeno's teaching. This passage is the entire sermon *De genesi, seu De aeterna Filii Dei generatione* and reads as follows:

Principium, fratres dilectissimi, Dominus noster incunctanter est Christus, quem ante omnia saecula Pater in profundo suae sacrae mentis, arcano insuspiciabili, ac soli sibi nota conscientia, Filii non sine affectu, sed sine velamine amplectebatur. Igitur ineffabilis illa incomprehensibilisque sapientia sapientiam,

Without doubt, beloved brethren, the beginning is Christ Our Lord whom the Father embraced before all ages in the depth of His sacred mind by an inconceivable mystery—the knowledge of which He alone possessed—and not without a love for the Son but without veiling Himself. Therefore, that in-

⁵² *Tractatus* 2, 7, 1 (Giuliani 154).

omnipotentia omnipotentiam propagat. De Deo nascitur Deus, de ingenito unigenitus, de solo solus, de toto totus, de vero verus, de perfecto perfectus. Totum Patris habens, nihil derogans Patri. *Procedit in natiuitatem, qui erat, ante quam nasceretur, in Patre*: aequalis in omnibus, quia Pater in ipsum alium se genuit ex se: ex innascibili scilicet sua illa substantia, in qua beatus manens in sempiternum omnibus, quae habet, habentem Filium paria procreauit, qui est Deus benedictus in saecula saeculorum.⁵³

effable and incomprehensible Wisdom propagates Wisdom, Omnipotence, Omnipotence. God is born of God, the only-begotten from the unbegotten, the only one from the only one, the whole from the whole, the true from the true, the perfect from the perfect. He possesses the whole of the Father, taking away nothing from the Father. *He proceeds unto birth who was in the Father before He was born*: being equal in all things, for in Him the Father begot another Self out of Himself; for from that innascible substance of His, in which He remains forever blessed, He procreated a Son having things equal to all that He has. He is the blessed God unto ages of ages.

The first sentence in this passage describes the eternal relations existing between the Father and the Son in much the same manner as does the second of the two passages quoted above,⁵⁴ namely, that the Father embraced the Son in His sacred mind by an eternal embrace. The second sentence states that, as a result of this eternal embrace, divine wisdom and omnipotence were propagated: *Sapientia sapientiam, omnipotentia omnipotentiam propagat*. The following sentence, *De Deo nascitur Deus*, etc., enlarges still more upon the import of the divine generation. Then Zeno states that, despite His generation from the Father, the Son takes nothing away from the substance of the Father but possesses the totality of the divine essence: *Totum Patris habens, nihil derogans Patri*.

Thus far, there is nothing which would suggest that Zeno is *not* speaking of the *eternal* generation of the Son. But the picture is changed completely by the appearance of the sentence:

⁵³ *Tractatus* 2, 3 (Giuliari 136 f.).

⁵⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 37.

Procedit in nativitatem, qui erat, ante quam nasceretur, in Patre. If Zeno would mean the carnal birth of Christ by *Procedit in nativitatem*, there would be no difficulty to solve; however, the whole context of the sermon precludes this hypothesis. If he has in mind the eternal generation, he could not say *qui erat, ante quam nasceretur*, for these words signify an existence prior to the generation—an impossibility for the eternally begotten Son.

Taken at its face value, the sentence or formula clearly states that the Son existed in the Father from eternity, but He was not begotten from eternity; in other words, the generation properly so-called was not eternal but temporal. Such is the obvious conclusion if one takes the passage as it stands and as the literal sense of the words manifestly indicates.

There is no intention of denying that Zeno meant just what he said, but it must nevertheless be carefully observed that there is more to the passage than is evident at first glance. There is a history attached to the formula, and there is a special reason why Zeno formulated it in precisely these words. So, in justice to him, these factors must receive some consideration.

The specific reason for Zeno's approbation of the formula as it stands is to be found in the Arian insistence upon its antithesis, which is found in Arius' own letter to Alexander of Alexandria: "Filius autem sine tempore editus a Patre, et ante saecula creatus et fundatus, *non erat antequam nasceretur.*"⁵⁵ Zeno evidently wishes to manifest his disapproval of the Arian formula by expressing his own belief in a diametrically opposite formula.

Furthermore, it may be suggested that Zeno was perhaps influenced somewhat by Lactantius who used the same formula and, in fact, quoted it as a scriptural text, even though no such passage can be found in the Scriptures.⁵⁶ Believing the formula to be scriptural, Zeno did not deem it objectionable. Lactantius' influence upon Zeno has already been pointed out.⁵⁷

The Council of Nice did not censure the formula in question; in fact, it seemed to approve of it indirectly by anathematizing the Arian formula *non erat antequam nasceretur*. According to

⁵⁵ Cf. Hilary, *De Trinitate* 4, 13 (PL 10, 106 A).

⁵⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 34 f.

⁵⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 26.

Hilary, the Council pronounced its anathema in these words: "Eos autem qui dicunt, *Erat quando non erat, et ante quam nasceretur non erat* . . . anathematizat catholica Ecclesia."⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the Fathers assembled at the Council would probably have rejected also the formula *Erat ante quam nasceretur*, had it come up for discussion; for, even though it may admit of an orthodox interpretation, it too strongly favors the temporal generation of the Son. The formula differs from the Arian inasmuch as it admits of the eternal pre-existence of the Word or Son though not of the *eternally begotten* Word or Son; the Arian formula, on the contrary, denies any kind of existence of the Word or Son prior to the time appointed for creation.

Hilary of Poitiers once sanctioned the formula used by Zeno for he writes as follows in his commentary on Matthew's gospel: "Qui (Ariani) si per fidem vitaeque probitatem capaces Evangeliorum esse potuissent, scirent Verbum in principio Deum, et hoc a principio apud Deum, et natum esse ex eo qui erat, et hoc in eo esse qui natus est, quod is ipse est *penes quem erat ante quam nasceretur*: eandem scilicet aeternitatem esse et gignentis et geniti."⁵⁹ As is evident, he hastens to explain himself by stating that both the Begetter and the Begotten are eternal.

However, in his *De Trinitate* Hilary discards the formula *Erat ante quam nasceretur* because he deems it as just as reprehensible and meaningless as the Arian *Non erat ante quam nasceretur*. He writes as follows: "*Caeterum non relinquit prius esse quam nasci: quia ultra sensum est, in nullo subjacet sensui. . . . Cum itaque natum semper esse, nihil aliud sit confitendum esse, quam natum, id sensui ante quam nascitur vel fuisse vel non fuisse, non subjacet. . . . Natus itaque est, et semper est.*"⁶⁰

Gregory of Nazianzus ridicules the idea that the Son existed or did not exist before He was born. In one of his *Theological Orations* he says: "He therefore begot Him existing or not exist-

⁵⁸ *De synodis* 84 (PL 10, 536 AB). Cf. C. J. Hefele-H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles* 1, 1 (Paris, 1907), 444; ES 54.

⁵⁹ *In Matthaeum* 31, 3 (PL 9, 1057 AB).

⁶⁰ *De Trinitate* 12, 31 (PL 10, 452 AB). Cf. also *op. cit.*, 6, 13-14 (PL 10, 167 A-168 B); Pseudo-Athanasius, *Oratio 4 contra Arianos* 11 (PG 26, 481 AB).

ing. *What nonsense!* . . . I, of course, admit neither of these and maintain that *the question contains an absurdity*. . . . Know well that *it is quite puerile* to inquire whether that which took place from the beginning was before the generation or not.”⁶¹

Next to come under consideration are two passages in which Zeno speaks of the *two nativities* of the Son. The importance of this doctrine will be carefully noted. The first of the two texts occurs in the first sermon *De nativitate Domini* and reads as follows:

Quapropter *duas esse nativitates Domini nostri Iesu Christi* necessario scire debet populus Christianus, ne quam patiat error: unam, qua natus est, alteram, qua renatus. Sed sicut est spiritualis prima sine matre, ita sine patre secunda carnalis. Haec miranda, innarrabilis illa, Propheta dicente: “Nativitatem eius quis enarrabit?”⁶² Cur autem sit innarrabilis, Patre loquente noscamus: “Eructavit,” inquit, “cor meum Verbum bonum.”⁶³ Et Dominus ipse nos edocet apud Salomonem hactenus dicens:⁶⁴ “Ego ex ore Altissimi prodivi ante omnem creaturam.”⁶⁵

Therefore, the Christian people must necessarily know that *there are two nativities of Our Lord Jesus Christ* lest it fall into error: one, by which He was born, the other, by which He was reborn. But, just as the first is spiritual, without a mother, so is the second carnal, without a father. The latter is to be marvelled at, the former is unspeakable; for the Prophet says: “Who shall declare His nativity?” But why it is unspeakable, let us learn from the Father who says: “My heart,” says He, “hath uttered a good Word.” And the Lord Himself teaches us as much in Solomon, saying: “I came out of the mouth of the Most High before every creature.”

⁶¹ *Theological Orations* 3, 9 (CPT Gregory of Nazianzus 85, 1, 86, 4-5, 87, 4-5 Mason).

⁶² Isaias 53, 8. The choice of the word *nativitas* in place of *generatio* is not peculiar to Zeno alone. Phoebadius of Agen also made frequent use of it; for instance, in his *Contra Arianos* 9 (PL 20, 19 B). The use of the word seems to stem from the version of Scriptures found in Cyprian's writings; cf. Cyprian, *Testimonia ad Quirinum* 2, 15 (CSEL 3, 1, 80, 10-11 Hartel). See also *supra*, p. 25.

⁶³ Ps. 44, 1.

⁶⁴ Ecclus. 24, 5.

⁶⁵ *Tractatus* 2, 7, 1 (Giuliani 155).

Note the similarity of Zeno's *prima (nativitas) sine matre, ita sine patre secunda carnalis* with the following of Lactantius: "*In prima enim nativitate spiritali amétor fuit, quia sine officio matris a solo deo patre generatus est, in secunda vero carnali apátor fuit.*"⁶⁶ Gregory of Nazianzus expresses himself similarly."⁶⁷

The second of Zeno's two passages is found in the second sermon *De nativitate Domini* and it is similar to the first:

*Igitur duas nativitates esse Domini nostri Iesu Christi rudis, aut negligens disce Christiane, ne quo decipiaris errore. Unam, quam tibi non licet quaerere: alteram, quam legitime, si possis, permitteris edoceri. Prima itaque nativitas Domini nostri in Patris et Filii tantum conscientia manet; nec quidquam habet interiectum, neque conscium, qui ex paterni oris affectu processit uno consensu. Secunda vero carnalis, sicut est frequentibus oraculis prodita, ita invenimus esse completam.*⁶⁸

Learn, therefore, O neophyte or neglectful Christian, lest you be deceived by some error, that *there are two nativities of Our Lord Jesus Christ*: one, into which you are not allowed to probe, the other, of which you may legitimately learn if you can. And so *the first nativity* of Our Lord remains solely in the knowledge of the Father and the Son; it has neither anything intervening nor anyone sharing the knowledge of it. He came forth out of the love of the Father's mouth by one accord. *But the second (nativity is) a carnal one.* We find it so fulfilled as it was proclaimed by frequent prophecies.

This doctrine of the twofold nativity of the Son of God was not uncommon among the Fathers. As already noted,⁶⁹ Lactantius speaks of the two nativities as follows: "*In primis enim testificamur illum bis esse natum, primum in spiritu, postea in carne.*"⁷⁰ *Bis enim natus est.*"⁷¹ Though he employs the word

⁶⁶ *Divinae institutiones* 4, 13 (CSEL 19, 316, 16-18 Brandt).

⁶⁷ *Theological Orations* 3, 19 (CPT Gregory of Nazianzus 103, 6 Mason). Also, *op. cit.*, 4, 21 (*Ibid.*, 143, 8-9).

⁶⁸ *Tractatus* 2, 8, 1 (Giuliani 161).

⁶⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 34 f.

⁷⁰ *Divinae institutiones* 4, 8, 1 (CSEL 19, 295, 5-6 Brandt).

⁷¹ *Epitome* 38 (CSEL 19, 714, 7-8 Brandt).

generatio instead of *nativitas*, Marius Victorinus also speaks of the double birth of Christ: "Duplex enim generatio eius."⁷² So does Cyril of Jerusalem.⁷³

It is clear that the second nativity is the carnal birth of Christ from the Virgin Mary. But what is the first nativity? Is it the eternal generation of the Son or His temporal procession for the purpose of creation? There are reasons for stating that it is the temporal procession or generation. First of all, from the passages previously studied⁷⁴ it became sufficiently clear that Zeno understands the generation of the Son to have taken place when God was prepared to create the world; in other words, it was a temporal generation. As is evident, Zeno knows of only two nativities. The second of these is clearly the carnal birth of Christ; hence, the first can be only the temporal generation for the purpose of creation.

Again, Zeno speaks of the first nativity as a procession from the mouth of the Father: *ex paterni oris affectu processit*, and he bases this statement upon the scriptural text: "Ego ex ore Altissimi prodivi ante omnem creaturam." He speaks in precisely the same manner of the procession of the Son for the purpose of creation: *cuius ex ore (ut rerum natura, quae non erat, fingeretur) prodivit unigenitus Filius*.⁷⁵ This leaves little doubt that the first nativity of the Son is identical, in Zeno's theology, with the temporal generation.

Thus far, an attempt has been made to indicate the possible sources for Zeno's teaching on the twofold state of the Son, as well as to discover the motives which led him to formulate his doctrine as he did. Furthermore, there has also been some effort to interpret his meaning. There are certain scholars that have offered solutions as to the correct interpretation of Zeno's teaching, but the results have been conflicting. The solutions of these scholars will now be examined.

The theory set forth by the Ballerini is found in the lengthy treatise which now serves as a preface to their edition of Zeno's

⁷² *Adversus Arium* 1, 24 (PL 8, 1057 C).

⁷³ *Catechesis* 15, 1 (*Opera Cyrilli* 2, 152 Rupp).

⁷⁴ Cf. *supra*, pp. 36 f., 41 f.

⁷⁵ *Tractatus* 2, 4 (Giuliani 143).

Tractatus in the *Patrologia latina*.⁷⁶ According to them, the first nativity spoken of by Zeno is the eternal generation of the Son as Catholic dogma understands it. A *second* kind of *eternal* generation, they say, took place when the eternal Word proceeded from the mouth of the Father in the eternal decree of creation. This second generation is eternal, not temporal, and internal, not merely an external manifestation of the Son to creatures at creation. The two eternal generations are distinct from each other only *prioritate rationis*, not *prioritate temporis*; in reality, they are merely two viewpoints of one and the same eternal generation.

This theory is evidently quite gratuitous. It is dominated by the preconceived notion that Zeno's doctrine on the generation of the Son is fully orthodox; it assumes beforehand what it sets out to prove. That Zeno had in mind a subtle distinction such as the one attributed to him by the Ballerini is highly improbable. Furthermore, the theory postulates the existence of three nativities in Zeno's theology, two of which are eternal, one, temporal. But Zeno very distinctly speaks of two, and only two, nativities.

Another version of Zeno's doctrine is that given by the Anglican bishop George Bull.⁷⁷ His theory differs from that of the Ballerini in so far as he considers the second divine procession to be temporal, not eternal; furthermore, it is not internal, but rather an external manifestation of the Son to creatures at creation. It is a revelation and a manifestation of the first and eternal nativity, so that, as far as creatures are concerned, the Son can truly be said to have been born to them for the first time. Hence, it is a nativity only in a figurative and improper sense.

Bull's theory is liable to the same criticism as that of the Ballerini. It is true that certain Fathers speak of the Son's manifestation to creatures as a kind of generation or nativity; as Gregory of Elvira states: "Creatura est ergo Sapientia, immo *genita*, non sibi quae semper est, sed *his quae ab ea fieri oportebat*."⁷⁸ But Zeno speaks of the first nativity as a birth in the true and proper sense of the word. He places it on a parallel with the carnal

⁷⁶ Cf. PL 11, 88 A-97 B.

⁷⁷ See his *Defensio fidei Nicaenae* 2 (Ticini, 1784), 185 f.

⁷⁸ *De fide orthodoxa contra Arianos* 2 (PL 20, 36 C).

birth of Christ, the second nativity. But this second nativity is a true and real birth; hence, the same applies to the first.

A third solution is offered by B. Perazzini⁷⁹ and subsequently adopted by Giuliani.⁸⁰ Whenever Zeno employs the term *nativitas*, says Perazzini, he has in mind the usual signification of the term as understood in common, everyday language, namely, the actual birth of a child from its mother's womb. Birth itself is not the first beginning of the child's existence; it existed already in the mother's womb from the time of conception.

Applying the term *nativitas* to the divine and human origin of the Son, continues Perazzini, Zeno enumerates two nativities: the first is His procession from heart and out of the mouth of the Father for the purpose of creation, and the second is His carnal birth from Mary. The term *nativitas* does not and cannot apply to the eternal generation of the Son; the latter, says Perazzini, must be characterized as *origo aeterna Verbi*. The first nativity is not eternal, yet it occurred before time: *ante tempus, sed non ab aeterno*. In conclusion, Perazzini sums up his theory thus: *origo aeterna Verbi, nativitas divina ante tempus, nativitas humana temporalis*.

The opinion of Perazzini seems to be a nearer approach to the true solution than that of Bull and the Ballerini. However, his terminology stands in need of correction. His *origo aeterna Verbi* is misleading inasmuch as it gives the impression that the Word existed from eternity, but not the Son *as the Son*. Zeno, however, clearly teaches that the Son *as the Son* existed eternally; hence, to forestall a misunderstanding the proper terminology would be: *Origo aeterna Verbi et Filii*. Furthermore, the phrase *nativitas divina ante tempus, sed non ab aeterno* places the first nativity into an impossible category; it implies that this nativity was neither eternal nor temporal. But this nativity must be termed either eternal or temporal; there is no other alternative. Perazzini should have said *nativitas divina ante creationem, sed non ab aeterno*.

⁷⁹ See his *In editionem Tractatum vel sermonum Sancti Zenonis episcopi Veronensis correctiones et emendationes* (Verona, 1775), 36-42.

⁸⁰ Cf. his *S. Zenonis episcopi Veronensis sermones* (Verona, 1900²), xlix and 138-142.

Cardinal Newman⁸¹ does not advance a theory of his own, although he does believe that Zeno taught the temporal generation. He places Zeno's doctrine on a par with that of his predecessors, that is, of Theophilus, Tertullian, Lactantius, and others. He considers all the exponents of the temporal generation to be members of the same school of thought, and, as a result, the doctrine of one can be explained by the doctrine of the others. He considers it probable that this school of thought maintains the eternal *conception* of the Son but not His eternal *birth*; the latter is temporal. Zeno is included in this school.⁸²

A. Bigelmair does not commit himself too freely but he does believe that Zeno is an exponent of the temporal generation.⁸³

As a result of the foregoing inquiry into Zeno's doctrine of the twofold state of the Son, the following conclusions may be tabulated:

1. Zeno upholds the eternal pre-existence of the Son *as the Son*. In this respect he corrects the views of his predecessors, notably those of Tertullian and Novatian.

2. Zeno apparently views the Son as *conceived* from eternity *in utero cordis Patris*, but not *born* or begotten from eternity.

3. Zeno teaches the *temporal generation* of the Son for the purpose of creation.

4. Zeno's doctrine of the temporal generation betrays the influence of his predecessors, that is, of the Greek apologists and the early Latin writers.

5. Zeno bases his teaching upon the following scriptural texts: "Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum," and "Ego ex ore Altissimi prodivi ante omnem creaturam."

2

ZENO'S CONCEPT OF THE MODE OF THE SON'S GENERATION

In the foregoing section of this chapter the *fact* of the generation of the Son was studied; the present section will deal with the *mode* of His generation. In the former, the question

⁸¹ See his *Tracts Theological and Ecclesiastical*, 290-293.

⁸² Cf. *op. cit.*, 280, 283, 287.

⁸³ See his *Zeno von Verona*, 104-109; also ²BKV 2 R. 10, 37 f.

of the time of the Son's generation came under consideration; here, its nature and characteristics, as conceived by Zeno, will receive attention.

In developing his conception of the mode in which the Son proceeded from the Father, Zeno appeals to the passage of the Psalms: "Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum."¹ To him, the generation of the Son is a coming forth from the heart of the Father. Regarding the procession of the Word for the purpose of creation, he says:

Sed excogitatarum ut ordinem instrueret rerum, inef-
fabilis illa virtus incomprehensibilisque sapientia e regione
cordis eructat Verbum.²

It is with this notion in mind that he characterizes the Son as "the noble inhabitant" of the Father's heart; thus, he says:

(Patris) ex ore (ut rerum natura, quae non erat, fin-
geretur) prodivit unigenitus Filius, *cordis eius nobilis
inquilinus*.³

The scriptural text "Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum" held a place of importance in the patristic notion of the generation of the Son. Thus, Gregory of Elvira, commenting on the text, writes: "Vides ergo hoc Verbum bonum Filium Dei esse, quem non aliunde quam de paterno pectore, et, ut ita dixerim, de utero cordis Dei credimus natum."⁴ Ambrose asks: "Quomodo eructatum ex corde Verbum legitur, nisi ut ex intimo et inaestimabili Patris intelligatur, ut scriptum est, prodiisse secreto?"⁵

A more complete notion of Zeno's concept of the Son's generation is derived from his use of the expression *ex ore*. Zeno evidently based this teaching of the Son's procession *ex ore Patris* upon the text: "Ego ex ore Altissimi prodivi ante omnem creaturam."⁶ According to his theology, then, the Word was first con-

¹ Ps. 44, 1. Cf. *Tractatus*, 2, 7, 1 (Giuliari 155).

² *Tractatus* 2, 5, 1 (Giuliari 146).

³ *Tractatus* 2, 4 (Giuliari 143).

⁴ *De fide orthodoxa contra Arianos* 2 (PL 20, 35 D).

⁵ *De fide* 1, 19, 126 (PL 16, 580 B).

⁶ Ecclus. 24, 5.

ceived in the heart of the Father and from there He was emitted through the mouth.

In begetting the Son, the Father communicates His own substance to the Son, according to Zeno, but He retains His entire substance in so doing. This communication is so perfect that the Father is said to beget *another Self* in the Son. Thus, Zeno says:

In ipsum *aliū se* genuit ex se.⁷ Laetatur Pater in *alio se*, quem genuit ex se.⁸

This is an expression in other words of what Tertullian seems to have meant by the *second* or *double* which God produced in His divine mind: " (Habuit deus) in semetipso proinde rationem et in ratione sermonem, quem *secundum a se* fecerat agitando intra se." ⁹

The act of the Father communicating His substance to the Son is characterized by Zeno as an infusion or outpouring of Himself into the Son:

A Paterno fonte in Filio tota (Caritas) *refunderis*; et tamen tota ubi *refunderis*, nec *recedis*.¹⁰ Alter enim in alterius plenitudine *infusus*.¹¹ Hic est Deus noster, qui *se digessit in Deum*. . . . Hic Pater, qui suo manente integro statu, *totum se reciprocavit in Filium*, ne quid sibimet derogaret.¹²

The same thought is found in the following words of Lactantius: " Ille quasi exuberans fons est, hic tamquam defluens ex eo rivus."¹³ *Quidquid est in patre, ad filium transfuit*, et quidquid in filio, a patre descendit."¹⁴ Novatian, too, writes in much the same manner in his *De Trinitate*: "(A Patre) solo haec *vis divinitatis emissa, etiam in filium tradita et directa, rursum per sub-*

⁷ *Tractatus* 2, 3 (Giuliani 137).

⁸ *Tractatus* 2, 5, 1 (Giuliani 146).

⁹ *Adversus Praxean* 5 (CSEL 47, 234, 18 Kroymann). Cf. *supra*, p. 31 f.

¹⁰ *Tractatus* 1, 2, 9 (Giuliani 23 f).

¹¹ *Tractatus* 2, 6, 4 (Giuliani 153).

¹² *Tractatus* 2, 2 (Giuliani 134).

¹³ *Divinae institutiones* 4, 29 (CSEL 19, 392, 9-10 Brandt).

¹⁴ *Loc. cit.* (*Ibid.*, 394, 4-5).

*stantiae communionem ad patrem revolvitur. . . . Et tamen nihilominus unus deus pater probatur, dum gradatim reciproco meatu illa maiestas atque divinitas ad Patrem, qui dederat eam, rursum ab illo ipso filio missa revertitur et retorquetur."*¹⁵

The notion of the Son's generation as an outpouring or transfusion of the Father's substance into that of the Son, though not in itself an objectionable doctrine, was not generally countenanced by the Fathers, because the Arians usurped it in a material sense. Thus, Hilary rejects the idea of a *transfusio*, or its equivalent, in the divine substance: "Filius in Patre est, et in Filio Pater, *non per transfusionem refusionemque mutuum*, sed per viventis naturae perfectam nativitatem."¹⁶ The same holds true for the Greek equivalent¹⁷ which was considered to be favorable to the Arians. However, the Fathers did find the notion acceptable provided that it was interpreted in the proper sense. Athanasius, for instance, quotes with approval Theognostus, of the school of Alexandria, who speaks of the Son as "an effluence of the Father's substance."¹⁸

Zeno's repeated stress of the fact that the Father lost nothing whatever of His substance by generating a Son is of significance. He says:

De Deo nascitur Deus . . . *de toto totus*. . . . Totum Patris habens, *nihil derogans Patri*.¹⁹ Hic Pater, qui *suo manente integro statu*, totum se reciprocavit in Filium *ne quid sibimet derogaret*.²⁰ A Paterno fonte in Filio tota (Caritas) refunderis, et tamen tota ubi refunderis, *nec recedis*.²¹ "Thesauri eius" (sunt) *indeminutae deitatis paterna substantia* paternaque voluntas.²²

¹⁵ *De Trinitate* 31 (CPT Novatian 122 Fausset).

¹⁶ *De Trinitate* 7, 31 (PL 10, 226 B).

¹⁷ Cf., for example, Athanasius, *De decretis Nicaenae synodi* 11 (PG 25, 436 A), and his *Oratio 1 contra Arianos* 21 (PG 26, 57 A); Pseudo-Athanasius, *Expositio fidei* 1 (PG 25, 201 A).

¹⁸ *De decretis Nicaenae synodi* 25 (PG 25, 460 C); *De sententia Dionysii* 23 (PG 25, 513 B).

¹⁹ *Tractatus* 2, 3 (Giuliani 137).

²⁰ *Tractatus* 2, 2 (Giuliani 134).

²¹ *Tractatus* 1, 2, 9 (Giuliani 23 f).

²² *Tractatus* 2, 13, 3 (Giuliani 183).

It was a favorite objection on the part of the Arians to assert that the Father would have suffered loss of a portion of His substance if He begot a Son. Zeno's words are clearly directed against this Arian contention. He maintains that both the Father and the Son possess the divine substance in all its fullness: *Totum Pater, totum possidet Filius*.²³

As a witness to the Arian error, Gregory of Elvira says: "Hoc enim placuit haereticis, ut Deus ille omnipotens, invisibilis, immensus *degeneraret in Filio*, non modo potestate, sed *conditione mutata*, quasi non potuerat Pater de semetipso talem habere, qualis et ipse est."²⁴ Hilary writes: "Ob id anathema sunt, qui . . . putent *essentiam Patris a se in Filio degenerasse gignendo*."²⁵ Athanasius attributes the same error to the Arians, saying: "They deny that He is the proper offspring of the Father's substance, as though this would be impossible without the thought of it being from parts and divisions."²⁶

On the other hand, the Fathers emphatically maintained that the generation of the Son took place without any division or change or loss of any kind to the Father. Thus, Hilary writes: "Patri de substantia qua manebat per Filii nativitatem *nihil est decerptum*,"²⁷ and: "Hoc Ecclesia intelligit . . . unum ex uno, et totum a toto, Deum et filium, *neque per nativitatem Patri ademisse quod totum est*, neque hoc ipsum totum non secum nascendo tenuisse."²⁸ Phoebadius stresses the same truth with equal clarity: "*Pater Filium generans non minuit, nec amisit plenitudinis suae deitatem*: totum autem quod Deus Pater est, id esse et

²³ *Tractatus* 2, 6, 4 (Giuliani 152).

²⁴ *De fide orthodoxa contra Arianos* 7 (PL 20, 44 CD).

²⁵ *De synodis* 20 (PL 10, 496 BC). Cf. also his *De Trinitate* 4, 4 (PL 10, 99 A): Tertio quoque hanc improbandi *homoousii* causam comminiscuntur, quod secundum verbi huius significationem, *ex divisione paternae substantiae* esse Filius existimetur; *tamquam desecatus* ex eo fuerit, ita ut in duos sit res una divisa.

²⁶ *Oratio 1 contra Arianos* 15 (PG 26, 44 A).

²⁷ *De Trinitate* 4, 6 (PL 10, 100 AB).

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, 9, 52 (PL 10, 275 C-276 A). See also *op. cit.*, 3, 4 (PL 10, 77 C): Ex toto Patre totus Filius natus est . . . *non in parte*, quia plenitudo deitatis in filio; and 2, 8 (PL 10, 57 B): *Non est abscissio, aut divisio*: impassibilis est enim ille qui genuit.

Filium ab eo natum, certissime tenentes,"²⁹ and: "*Nec imminutus ille (est) qui genuit, quia genuit de semetipso. . . . Totus enim dedit totum.*"³⁰

The following profession of faith in the generation of the Son by Zeno is worthy of special note:

De Deo nascitur Deus, de ingenito unigenitus, de solo solus, de toto totus, de vero verus, de perfecto perfectus.³¹

God is born of God, the only begotten from the unbegotten, the only one from the only one, the whole from the whole, the true from the true, the perfect from the perfect.

This passage reads as an extract from some ancient creed or symbol of faith.

Formulas of faith such as the above of Zeno were employed by the Fathers in their controversies with the Arians as an expression of the absolute equality between the Father and the Son—an equality in no way impaired by the generation of the Son. Hence, Gregory of Elvira writes against the Arians: "*Filium Dei non aliunde natum dixeram, quam proprie de Patre, totum de toto, integrum de integro, perfectum de perfecto.*"³² The Council of Nice approved of such formulas of faith and embodied them in its *Symbolum*, the words of which Hilary records as follows: "Credimus . . . in unum Dominum Iesum Christum filium Dei,

²⁹ *Libellus fidei* (PL 20, 49 C).

³⁰ *Contra Arianos* 11 (PL 20, 21 B). See also Athanasius, *De decretis Nicaenae synodi* 11 (PG 25, 436 A), and *Oratio 1 contra Arianos* 16 (PG 26, 45 AB).

³¹ *Tractatus* 2, 3 (Giuliani 137).

³² *De fide orthodoxa contra Arianos*, prolog. (PL 20, 32 C). See also *op. cit.*, 7 (PL 20, 44 A): *Unde et tantus est Filius, quantus videbitur Pater, totus de toto, integer de integro, perfectus de perfecta consummataque virtute*; Phoebadius, *Libellus fidei* (PL 20, 49 B): *Deus de Deo, lumen de lumine, vita ex vita, perfectum de perfecto, totum a toto, plenum a pleno*, and his *Contra Arianos* 11 (PL 20, 21 B): *unus ab uno, verus a vero, plenus a pleno*. Cf. also Pseudo-Athanasius, *Expositio fidei* 1 (PG 25, 201 A); Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis* 11, 4 (*Opera Cyrilli* 1, 294 Reischl).

natum ex Patre unigenitum, hoc est, de substantia Patris, *Deum ex Deo, lumen ex lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero.*"³³

The Arians objected to these formulas of faith on the grounds that they expressed the impossible, as the following words of Hilary indicate: "Sunt enim plures saeculi prudentes, quorum prudentia Deo stultitia est, qui cum audiunt *Deum ex Deo, verum a vero, perfectum a perfecto, unum ab uno* natum esse, *tamquam impossibilia* nobis praedicantibus contradicunt."³⁴

Zeno characterizes the first nativity or generation of the Son as "unspeakable" and as "remaining solely in the knowledge of the Father and the Son":

Haec (nativitas secunda) miranda, *inenarrabilis* illa (prima), Propheta dicente: "Nativitatem eius quis enarrabit?"³⁵ Prima itaque nativitas Domini nostri *in Patris et Filii tantum conscientia manet*; nec quidquam habet interiectum, *neque conscium.*³⁶

The mystery of the generation is, then, a secret which no other being is privileged to behold but God Himself.

Zeno speaks in precisely the same manner of the eternal embrace of the Son by the Father with the following phrases: *solī sibi nota conscientia*,³⁷ *nescio qua sua conscientia velatum*,³⁸ and *secreti sui solus conscius*.³⁹ He further designates this mystery as *arcanum insuspicabile*⁴⁰ and *insuspicabile secretum*,⁴¹ that is to say, a mystery of whose nature or existence no creature could have even the least inkling.

³³ *De synodis* 84 (PL 10, 536 A). Cf. also J. C. Hefele-H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles* 1, 1, 443; ES 54.

³⁴ *De Trinitate* 3, 8 (PL 10, 80 A). Cf. also *op. cit.*, 2, 8 (PL 10, 57 AB): Est enim progenies ingeniti, *unus ex uno, verus a vero, vivus a vivo, perfectus a perfecto*, virtus virtutis, sapientiae sapientia, gloria gloriae, imago invisibilis Dei, forma patris ingeniti.

³⁵ *Tractatus* 2, 7, 1 (Giuliani 155).

³⁶ *Tractatus* 2, 8, 1 (Giuliani 161).

³⁷ *Tractatus* 2, 3 (Giuliani 136).

³⁸ *Tractatus* 2, 5, 1 (Giuliani 146).

³⁹ *Tractatus* 2, 4 (Giuliani 143).

⁴⁰ *Tractatus* 2, 3 (Giuliani 136).

⁴¹ *Tractatus* 2, 8, 1 (Giuliani 160).

Hilary confesses that the generation of the Son is a secret or mystery known only to the Father and the Son: "*Habent igitur nativitatis huius uterque secretum. . . . Ego nescio, non requiro; et consolabor me tamen, archangeli nesciunt, angeli non audierunt,*"⁴² and: "*Ille verus unus (est) patri Deo filius, et vera atque absoluta, manens tamen in cognitione utriusque, nativitas.*"⁴³ The same thought is expressed by Phoebadius: "*Hic enim solus est natus, nativitatis suae conscius. . . . Soli scilicet et Patri nota (est nativitas). . . . Genuit quidem Filium Pater, sed nemo scit unde.*"⁴⁴

The inscrutable and impenetrable nature of the generation of the Son prompted Zeno to admonish his hearers against an excessive curiosity regarding a mystery which the mind of man cannot comprehend. Man must be satisfied with knowing the *fact* of the generation; he must not attempt to fathom the *mode* of the generation. To endeavor to do the latter, Zeno warns, is madness:

Quomodo autem generatus sit, qui processit, dementis est opinari.⁴⁵ Dementiae genus est, invisibilis incomprehensibilisque velle opinari secretum, eiusque interna discutere, cuius extraria nequeat suspicari.⁴⁶ Ceterum providentis Dei de Deo argumentationibus vanis opinari velle dispositum, non colentis est, sed dementis.⁴⁷

To imagine how He was begotten, who came forth, is characteristic of a madman. It is a type of madness to wish to conjecture upon the mystery of the invisible and the incomprehensible and to delve into the inner secrets of Him whose external works one cannot comprehend. Moreover, it is not the part of a worshipper, but of a madman to wish with vain arguments to conjecture upon the dispensation of a provident God (proceeding) from God.

⁴² *De Trinitate* 2, 9 (PL 10, 57 C-58 A).

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, 12, 2 (PL 10, 435 A).

⁴⁴ *Contra Arianos* 10 (PL 20, 19 D-20 A). See also *op. cit.*, 9 (PL 20, 19 B): "*Nativitatem,*" inquit, "*eius quis enarravit?*" hoc est dicere: Nemo hominum poterit. Nemo enim potuit praeter ipsum, qui sinum Patris edisserens, principaliter nobis secreta nativitatis suae revelavit.

⁴⁵ *Tractatus* 2, 5, 1 (Giuliani 146).

⁴⁶ *Tractatus* 2, 7, 2 (Giuliani 155).

⁴⁷ *Tractatus* 2, 8, 1 (Giuliani 160 f.). Zeno considers it insanity to

These emphatic condemnations of undue curiosity in regard to the mystery of the Son's generation are in accord with the sentiments of other Fathers. Athanasius, for example, writes against the Arians: "It is not fitting to inquire how the Word is from God . . . or how God begets and what is the mode of the generation of God. *He must be truly mad who dares such things.*"⁴⁸

Ambrose makes the same distinction as does Zeno, namely, that one may lawfully know of the *fact* of the generation but may not probe into the *mode* of the generation. In his *De fide* he writes: "Tu quoque manum ori admove, scrutari non licet superna mysteria. Licet scire *quod natus sit*: non licet discutere *quemadmodum natus sit*. Illud negare mihi non licet, hoc quaerere metus est."⁴⁹ He also states the reason, namely, the inscrutability of the divine generation: "Generatio autem divina supra omnia est: late patet, supra omnes cogitationes ascendit et sensus,"⁵⁰ and: "Incomprehensibiliter generatur Filius."⁵¹

Phoeadius bases his arguments upon the same scriptural text as does Zeno, saying: "'Nativitatem,' inquit, 'eius quis enarravit?' hoc est dicere: Nemo hominum poterit . . . hoc est dicere: Nemo audeat enarrare quod non potest. Cur autem nemo poterit? quia scilicet non solum ex eo et cum eo, sed et in eo est qui caret nativitate."⁵² It is the above scriptural text that prompted Zeno to characterize the first nativity of the Son as *nativitas inenarrabilis*.⁵³ He also speaks of the origin of the Son as ineffable: *Dei filius ad ineffabilem originem pertinet*.⁵⁴

probe also into other mysteries, such as, for example, the mysteries of nature; thus, in *Tractatus* 2, 19 (Giuliari 209), he says: Etenim *genus insaniae est*, eum rationem secreti naturae disquirere, qui vitae suae non possit reddere: non enim ullo pacto potest humanis opinionibus substantia naturae comprehendi, quam nemo novit, nisi ipse solus, qui fecit.

⁴⁸ *Oratio 2 contra Arianos* 36 (PG 26, 224 A).

⁴⁹ *De fide* 1, 10, 65 (PL 16, 566 A). Peter Chrysologus, who lived in the century after Zeno, says in his *Sermo* 61 (PL 52, 370 B): Quod natus est confitendum est, quomodo natus est tacendum est; quia quod secretum est sciri non potest.

⁵⁰ *De fide* 1, 10, 63 (PL 16, 565 C).

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, 1, 10, 67 (PL 16, 566 C).

⁵² *Contra Arianos* 9 (PL 20, 19 B).

⁵³ *Tractatus* 2, 7, 1 (Giuliari 155).

⁵⁴ *Tractatus* 1, 12, 1 (Giuliari 84).

The mystery of the generation is incomprehensible even to the angels, as Ambrose explains: "Mihi enim impossibile est generationis, scire secretum: mens deficit, vox silet, non mea tantum, sed et angelorum. Supra Potestates, supra Angelos, supra Cherubim, supra Seraphim, supra omnem sensum est."⁵⁵ Hilary is witness to the same truth: "Ego nescio, non requiro; et consolabor me tamen. Archangeli nesciunt, angeli non audierunt (nativitatis secretum)."⁵⁶ And, long before either Ambrose or Hilary, Irenaeus wrote: "Generationem eius inenarrabilem exsistentem, nemo novit, . . . neque angeli, neque archangeli, neque principatus, neque potestates, nisi solus qui generavit Pater, et qui natus est Filius."⁵⁷

The attitude of Zeno towards the use of human reasoning in regard to the generation of the Son is in keeping with his view of reason and the mysteries in general. This attitude is one of caution and reserve. Reasoning and argumentation can, he admits, help cultivate and build up the faith; but they can also uproot and destroy it if shrewdness and subtlety are allowed free play in it:

Disputatio enim sicut excolit legem, ita, si versuta sit, eradicat fidem.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ *De fide* 1, 10, 64 (PL 16, 565 D-566A).

⁵⁶ *De Trinitate* 2, 9 (PL 10, 58 A).

⁵⁷ *Adversus haereses* 2, 42, 4 (Harvey 1, 355). Cf. also Gregory of Nazianzus, *Theological Orations* 3, 8 (CPT Gregory of Nazianzus 84, 16-17 Mason).

⁵⁸ *Tractatus* 1, 1, 2 (Giuliani 6).

SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS OMITTED

CHAPTER I

ZENO'S DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY AS A WHOLE

Zeno of Verona is eminent among the Fathers of the fourth century for his defence of the orthodox doctrine concerning the Holy Trinity. His defence of this dogma was occasioned by the presence of Arianism in Northern Italy where his diocese of Verona was located.

Zeno's whole teaching on the Trinity is summarized in his simile of the two seas connected by a strait. The two seas of the simile are the Father and the Son, while the strait, which allows the mutual flow of the waters of one sea into the other, is the Holy Ghost who is thus represented as the bond of union between the Father and the Son.

With this simile Zeno clearly sets forth the fact of the unity of nature and the trinity of Persons in the Godhead. Each of the Persons possesses His own name and His own specific properties; nevertheless, they possess the same almighty power and are consubstantial and indivisible in nature—properties which they possess in common with each other. Zeno leaves no doubt as to the consubstantiality of the three Persons, although he employs neither the Greek term *homoousion* nor the Latin *consubstantialis*, but the equally forceful *una substantia*.

The simile of the two seas clearly expresses the doctrine of the circumincession or *perichoresis* of the divine Persons, that is, the mutual indwelling or in-existence of one Person in the other owing to their mutual possession of one and the same substance and nature.

Zeno's trinitarian theology is by no means a complete theology. This is not to be expected in a collection of sermons delivered to the common people.

CHAPTER II

THE ETERNAL DIVINE COEQUALITY OF THE SON OF GOD

As Zeno himself says, there are many heresies which deny the divinity of Jesus Christ. However, he says that three of them are more formidable than the rest. These three sects are: 1. *Photinianism*, which asserts that Jesus Christ had the first beginning of His existence in the womb of the Virgin Mary and became God by an upright life; 2. *Arianism*, which contends that the Son was not begotten from the Father by an eternal generation and that there was a time when the Son did not exist; 3. *Judaism*, which refuses to acknowledge that God has a Son, even though its own Law is witness to the fact.

One of the scriptural texts adduced by the Fathers to prove the divinity of Jesus Christ was a passage from Genesis: "Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram." Zeno argues that the Father did not say to the Son: "Fac ad tuam," for this would favor the Arian contention that the Son is inferior to the Father; but He says: "Faciamus ad nostram."

The Arians, as all heretics, based their heresy upon scriptural passages which supposedly favored their false doctrines. One of these texts was the following from St. Paul: "Deinde finis: cum tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri." They argued that the Son will give up His kingdom to the Father at the end of time; therefore, He will lose His kingdom and will not reign forever. Hence, He cannot be coeternal and coequal to the Father. Zeno maintains that Paul's text refers to the temporal kingdom over which Christ now reigns and which He will deliver to the Father on the Last Day. As for the eternal kingdom, both the Father and the Son reigned from eternity and will reign forever.

The heretics further argued against the divinity of Christ from all those scriptural texts which tell of the Father commanding the Son to create. He who obeys and executes a command, they reasoned, must of necessity be inferior to the one who gives the command. Zeno answers with a twofold argument. First of all, it is not something less to do great things than it is command them; in other words, it is not a lesser act to create than it is

to command that creation take place, for each act, the command and its execution, postulates divine omnipotence. Secondly, the Father cannot utter a command without the Son, because the Son is His Word; neither can the Son do anything without the Father, because He is always with the Father.

The Arians taught a *separation* of the Trinity by excluding the Son from the Godhead; the Sabellians, on the other hand, were guilty of a *confusion* of the Trinity, because they denied completely any personal distinction between the Father and the Son. Against the latter heretics, Zeno states that the Lord did not say, "Ego et Pater unum sumus," because He wished to fuse two Persons into one Person, but because He wished to teach us that two Persons possess equality of divinity and power.

The Son is subject to the Father out of filial piety and love, not out of servitude or necessity. His subjection is an honorable one and does not make Him inferior to the Father.

CHAPTER IV

THE INCARNATE CHRIST

The second nativity of the Son of God is His carnal birth from the Virgin Mary. In this birth Christ entered the world secretly in order to deceive the devil. Just as the devil had deceived man in paradise by a stratagem, so was he now deceived by a stratagem himself; man in paradise was not able to recognize the devil, so also the devil could not easily recognize Christ in the world.

In coming down upon earth the Son of God laid aside, so to speak, His divine glory and majesty, but not His power. The reason for this self-abasement was the fact that creatures would not have been able to withstand the brilliance of the unveiled majesty and glory of the Lord.

Jesus Christ is both God and Man. He stands midway between God and man, proving the existence of His humanity by His human infirmities and of His divinity by His miraculous powers.

In speaking of the Incarnation Zeno consistently uses expressions such as *susceptio* or *assumptio hominis*, instead of *assumptio humanae naturae*. This mode of expression was common among

the Fathers of his times. Another frequent expression was *persona hominis*. Such phraseology, though apparently favorable to Nestorianism, did not have a heretical connotation in the minds of the Fathers in whose times terminology had not yet been fully developed. The same may be said of the phrases *homo mixtus* and *mixtus humane carni* as expressions of the hypostatic union.

CHAPTER V

SOTERIOLOGICAL DOCTRINE IN ZENO'S SERMONS

According to Zeno, Jesus Christ died upon the Cross so that the original order of things be fully restored. The motive which prompted God's action in favor of man was love.

The way was prepared for the Redeemer, not only by prophecies, but also by prophetic types and figures. Regarding these latter, Zeno is particularly eloquent. He finds types of the future suffering Savior in Jonas' sleep in the boat, in the sacrifice of Isaac, and in the suffering Job.

Zeno makes it a practice of taking anything composed of wood and finding in it a symbol of the Cross. Thus, the wood of the ship on which Jonas slept, the wooden staff given Thamar by Juda, the ladder seen by Jacob in a dream, are all figures of the Cross.

Zeno points out the contrast between the tree of paradise and the tree of the Cross. The former stands in opposition to the Cross inasmuch as it represents the instrument of the fall of mankind, whereas the latter becomes the instrument of man's salvation.

According to Zeno, no one contributed anything to the salvation of the world but Jesus Christ; if there had been another, He could not have been the true Christ nor the purpose of the Law. Zeno draws sharp contrast between the personal sinlessness of the Son of God, on the one hand, and, on the other, man's sinfulness which He assumed. Christ took on Adam's flesh as it is after the Fall, not as it was before the Fall.

Parallelism is instituted between Christ's death as a sleep and the sleep of Adam in paradise. A rib was taken from Adam's side while he was asleep and from it was formed a woman of

flesh—Eve; so, too, from the side of Christ, who had fallen asleep in death upon the Cross, a spiritual woman came forth—the Church. Thus, Christ is the second Adam.

Of the fruits of the Redemption Zeno stresses the negative effects: removal of sin and death, and the positive effects: immortality, the opening of the way to heaven, the liberation of the souls imprisoned in limbo, the deification of man, the restoration of Adam to the friendship of God, and the birth of the Church from the side of Christ.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

FRANK STEPANICH was born on November 12, 1915, near Neodesha, Kansas. He received his elementary education at the Brooks rural school, Montgomery County, Kansas. He attended the Neodesha High School for one year and then, in the fall of 1930, enrolled at St. Joseph's College, the seraphic seminary of the Franciscan province of the Sacred Heart, at Westmont, Illinois. On September 2, 1934, he was received into the novitiate of the Commissariat of the Holy Cross at St. Mary's Seminary, Lemont, Illinois, which is conducted by the Slovene Franciscan Fathers. It was then that he was given the name Martin as his name in religion. At St. Mary's he made both his simple and solemn vows and also completed the entire course in philosophy and sacred theology. He was ordained to the priesthood at Quigley Seminary, Chicago, Illinois, on May 18, 1941. He remained at St. Mary's Seminary for one year after ordination in order to complete the final year in theology. In September, 1942, he entered the School of Sacred Theology at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., and received the degree of Licentiate in Sacred Theology in May of the following year.

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